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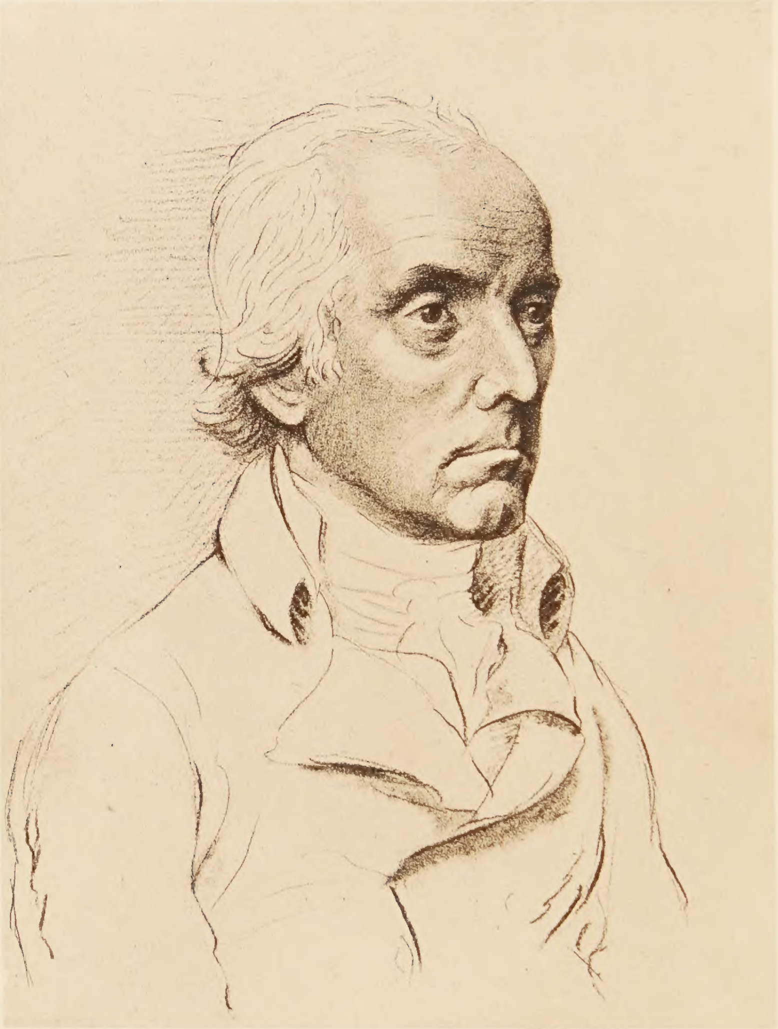

Benjamin Rush, 1805
from drawing by William Haines

The Autobiography of
BENJAMIN RUSH

MEMOIRS OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

VOLUME 25

The Autobiography of
BENJAMIN RUSH

His "Travels Through Life"
together with his *Commonplace Book*
for 1789-1813

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

GEORGE W. CORNER

Now first printed in full from the original manuscripts in possession of The American Philosophical Society and The Library Company of Philadelphia

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From the original drawing at the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. By permission of the heirs of Dr. William Pepper.

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INTRODUCTION

TRAVELS THROUGH LIFE

IN the summer of 1800 the celebrated Philadelphia physician, Benjamin Rush, who had written so voluminously for the health, political advancement and general welfare of his fellow men, began the composition of a document intended for his own private satisfaction and for the edification of his family. Looking back upon the fifty-four years of his active and exciting life, he recalled many great national events that he had seen and taken part in, many actions of his own that he wished his sons and daughters to remember with pride, and not a few that he felt he must explain and justify. Memories came crowding upon him of his student days and his years of practice, of the Revolution, of his brief and bitter fight for reform of the military hospitals, of the great epidemic of 1793, of work and quarrels, great friendships and hard-won honors.

Rush was impelled, no doubt, to write his autobiography at this particular time, by two events, or series of events, one personal and the other of national import, that must have inevitably turned his thoughts inward and made him review his own history so that he might explain to himself and his children why he had reacted as he had to the stresses of his own life and to the political pressures of the time. In June 1800 his greatest personal agony had come to an end by the departure of William Cobbett from America. The antagonism of that man, who had flung at Rush for two years the worst abuse an honest physician has ever had to bear in the whole history of the profession, was at last subsiding. Rush's overwhelming victory in his suit for libel, decided in December 1799, had reduced the enemy's fortunes if not his spite, and the brief continuance of the quarrel in Cobbett's incredible periodical *The Rush Light* was only a last flare-up. Doctor Rush could now justifiably hope for relative calm in which to carry on his profession and to exercise his brilliant gifts as a teacher of medicine. But the quarrel had largely been aroused by contention over Rush's drastic medical theories and therapy (entangled though it was with political and personal differences). As he looked back upon the affair he must have felt that posterity would require a justification of his philosophy, and that he must therefore leave behind him a full account of his education, experience, and ways of thinking that had made him a radical among the doctors.

Not only in his own life, but in that of the nation, Benjamin Rush could foresee, in the year 1800, the coming of a new era. Jefferson's star was rising and the Federalists, whose fiscal policies and warmongering Rush had come to detest, were moving toward defeat at the presidential election in the fall. Although Rush was no longer active in politics, he felt in his own heart the woes and triumphs of the nation he had helped to launch. Great changes of policy were in the making; the very existence of the United States was not yet assured. At such an hour Benjamin Rush felt it necessary to set forth the story of his political development, so that his descendants might know what his hopes and aims had been as revolutionary and as legislator, and understand why a man whose one desire was to serve his country had been first a fomenter of insurrection, then a conservative constitutionalist and at last a Jeffersonian liberal.

Writing, as a busy doctor must, late at night in hours snatched from his rest, Rush set forth in ten small notebooks the story of his travels through life. He made it much more than a personal narrative, for his whole career had been made up of cooperation and contention with other people and he had a great deal to say about those who had been his contemporaries through the years. Well aware of his talent for personal characterization and proud of his participation in the Congress that signed the Declaration of Independence, he wrote into the book a "Character" of each of the Signers, based on notes written during the Revolution. At the end, with the strange mixture of materialism and religiosity that marked his own character, he filled half a notebook with a statement of his religious history that ends in a paean of Christian hope, and another with an account of his physical aches, pains and diseases throughout life.

At times his pen moved rapidly because he had at hand for reference his family records, the journals of his travels as a student in Britain and France, and the commonplace books, full of passing comment on men and events, that he had kept for many years. Copying and condensing from these, the text ran fluently. Now and then he left out a date, meaning to look it up, and in the same way he neglected to include his letter to Washington about the abuses in the hospitals. When he was composing from memory more than from notes, and especially when he was dealing with topics that still awoke emotions of wrath or sorrow, he sometimes made false starts, or thought belatedly of something to add; and thus the pages show numerous deletions and interlineations. No doubt he meant sometime to make a fresh and complete copy from this first draft, but he never found time for the task, and when he died it was the original notebooks that his sons found among his papers.

Benjamin Rush declared, in the first paragraph of his *Travels Through Life*, that he wished it might not be read outside of the family circle, and that it might never be published. How literally he really intended this is debatable. He certainly meant that he did not want it published in his own time; on the other hand the care he gave to the "Characters" of the Signers implies at least an unconscious expectation that they would be useful to historians.

At any rate it was only a year after his death in 1813 when his sons began to think of publishing the autobiography or at least as much of it as might be suitable for publication at the time.

John Rush, the eldest son, was ill, and Richard Rush was in Washington, where he had already taken the third step of his eminent career as a public servant, President Monroe having made him Attorney-General of the United States in February 1813. The care of their father's papers therefore devolved upon James Rush, then practising medicine in Philadelphia at the age of 27. He evidently suggested publication of the autobiography and sent the manuscript to Richard, who replied as follows:

> Washington, May 23, 1814
>
> *Dear James,*
>
> I have gone over the manuscript of our father's life twice very attentively; it is full of interesting facts and anecdotes, and not less of original and ingenious reflections. It is candid and simple, and strongly marked throughout with many of the characteristics of his own genius. If I do not mistake it will prove the most acceptable and popular of all his works; and in my opinion, the sooner it comes out the better.
>
> Considering it as the work of his own pen it would be well, on many accounts, to preserve it entire as far as possible, inasmuch as it is his own peculiar character and mind of which it seeks to give a portrait. And yet, considering it as a work for the press there is a good deal which must, inevitably, be expunged. I have used the pencil upon all such passages, and you will confirm the erasures with the pen if you approve of them. In only a few in-

> stances, in the political parts, have I obliterated with the pen, nor did I, in any instance, obliterate or alter until aided by the reflection of a second reading. You will exercise your own judgment more largely upon the medical parts. It seems to me that Number 10 will make an interesting addendum to the work, and be looked at with curiosity by others as well as his children. Neither do I perceive any objection to giving Number 9 to the world, not even the part headed domestic events. On the contrary the very nature of the narrative presupposes the insertion of matter private and personal, and if done without offence may cause it to be read with the more avidity; like Gibbon's life of himself, Rosseau's confessions, and twenty others that might be named, though I do not mean to compare the pure and innocent narrative in question to any of Rosseau's craziness.
>
> You will see in page 12 my idea as to its commencement, and whenever you will inform me of its being ready for publication I will send you a few sentences by way of preface, and apology for ushering it to the world. I have no tenacity as to any of my alterations, except, perhaps, the parts that are political, or relate to public men.
>
> For any further ideas I may have expressed I refer you to Mamma, and am always,
>
> Yours affectionately,
> R. Rush

[*Manuscript letter in possession of the American Philosophical Society.*]

The editorial changes thus proposed may mostly still be identified by Richard's pencil marks on the original manuscript. It is not always possible to distinguish the few places where, as he says, he obliterated with the pen, from corrections made by Benjamin Rush as he first wrote. Doubtless a few of Benjamin Rush's words have been lost to us by Richard's pen deletions, which he took care to make broad and heavy. In general, Richard proposed to strike out or to soften remarks that reflected unfavorably upon statesmen of great reputation, and on persons still living or recently deceased. He would have omitted the whole story of Benjamin Rush's efforts to get Washington to reform the medical service, and of his charges against William Shippen, and the ensuing trial. Richard chose also to delete a few unimportant passages which evidently seemed to him trivial or in poor taste. He wrote a brief new introductory passage in place of the family history in the first 12 pages of the manuscript. He must have decided, in spite of what he wrote in the foregoing letter, not to print notebook No. 10, which contained an account of Benjamin Rush's personal medical history. That part of the text subsequently disappeared and its whereabouts, if it still exists, is unknown.

The first nine notebooks, marked with Richard Rush's revisions, must have been put at once into the hands of a copyist, for a fair copy, in folio, suitable for the printer, was soon ready. Late in May 1814, Richard again wrote to James, proposing a further deletion, namely "the whole of the matter comprehended between the marks I have made from page 47 to 54 inclusive," i.e., of the fair copy. These marks may still be seen on the neatly written pages of the copyist's manuscript, which is now in the library of the American Philosophical Society together with 8 of the original 10 notebooks. The passage that was now troubling Richard Rush was Benjamin Rush's discussion (page 96 to 105 of the present edition) of his conduct as a physician and the antagonism of other physicians to his views and methods, especially in the epidemics of 1793 and 1797. In all probability James Rush, on sober reflection, shared his elder brother's feeling that this passage was unworthy of their distinguished father; at any rate, the project to publish the book was dropped, and the manuscripts remained in James's care.

Thirty-one years later, in 1845, one of the younger brothers, Samuel Rush, was in financial difficulties and his brother William proposed that the book be published to raise money for Samuel. Evidently this idea caused serious differences of opinion within the family. The younger brothers favored publication, but Richard, who had been Secretary of the Treasury and Minister to Great Britain, and James, who had married into money and social prestige, were against it. To both of them conformity was a necessary virtue. As men of the world they were proud to be sons of a Signer and a great physician, but they preferred to suppress the evidence that Benjamin Rush had been a contentious and sometimes wrongheaded man in politics and in his own profession. Richard put his foot down firmly in a letter to William (Rush mss.). He said that he had carefully reread the folio fair copy that was prepared in 1814, and that he now disapproved the publication of his father's more intimate statements about the political figures of his day, and also of his aspersions upon his fellow physicians. In the retrospect of half a century he could not help feeling that the disagreements and dissensions that had seemed so important to Benjamin Rush were in reality trivial and undignified. To reopen these petty quarrels could only mar the posthumous reputation of the great man.

In 1849 George Bancroft, the historian, wanted to see the autobiography of Benjamin Rush and was refused.

RICHARD RUSH TO GEORGE BANCROFT

Sydenham, near Philadelphia,
December 23, 1849

My dear Sir:

I mentioned to my brother, Doctor James Rush, of Chestnut Street, who is the depository of all my Father's medical and other papers, your wish to have access to some of those relating to the Revolution, and he replied, that there is no one to whom he could accord such access preferably to yourself; but that no public use has hitherto been made of any of them, and that it does not fall within his purpose as yet to give them publicity.

I beg you to accept this as the only answer which it is at present in my power to transmit to you, and believe me, dear Sir, to be [etc.]

Richard Rush

[*Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.*]

The sons were troubled more and more, apparently, by the story, now becoming exaggerated by gossip, of their father's hostility to George Washington in the dark days of 1777-1778. Benjamin Rush, as they well knew, had himself come to regret his attitude, at least in part. He and Washington had met on terms of civility long after those bitter years. Late in his life he had gone through his papers, tearing out scores of pages, many of which no doubt bore remarks critical of Washington. Richard Rush's pencil had similarly expurgated *Travels Through Life*, but the record still revealed enough to place Benjamin Rush in a bad light before a nation that had by this time practically deified Washington.

There is more than a hint of all this in a queer little commonplace book kept by Samuel Rush, now in the library of the American Philosophical Society. Under date of May 1859, Samuel communed with himself as follows:

> "Doctor Rush left an autobiography—brief, but most creditable to him—in which was contained the names, and mental force of (as well as I recollect) all the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. He disposed of himself in *three* words—'Benjamin

> Rush—he aimed well.' Find, Critic, a better account of one self, from Homer to the present day, if you can! And yet, this beautiful autobiography with all the lectures and manuscript meetings of Doctor Rush are buried in the great lonely castle of his son, Dr. James Rush, the millionaire far up Chestnut Street. Cruel and wicked, but *miser ille est qui nimium numus admiratur!* Why hath been all this? I'll tell you reader, when I can write no more. 1st, Laziness, and utter indifference to a good father's memory. 2d, an unworthy *scariness* about several lies of his *hostility* to General Washington, which one or two 'Historians' have promulgated and which Genl. Washington himself endorsed on the *sure* authority of an anonymous letter. Shame for those (I say it and let it remain) who are scared by the confounded testiness of Genl. Washington against their eminent and truly honest father."

At some later time, presumably after 1859, Bancroft succeeded in getting at least limited access to the manuscript of *Travels Through Life*. As we shall see, his opportunity did not come about through any yielding on the part of James Rush, but by some sort of intervention by one of the other brothers, presumably Samuel. The use Bancroft made of what he saw or heard caused a storm. Writing about Colonel Joseph Reed, Washington's military secretary and later adjutant general, Bancroft quoted Benjamin Rush's story about his journey with Reed just before the battle of Trenton (p. 124 of the present edition) as part of his evidence that Reed was disloyal in 1776-1777. A furious exchange of pamphlets, the "War of the Grandfathers," broke out between Reed's grandson William B. Reed and Rush's grandson Benjamin. The details of all this are now unimportant. Anyone who wishes to review them may consult W. S. Stryker's *The Reed Controversy*, Trenton, 1876. For our present purpose, however, the quarrel was useful because the correspondence it called out helps us to trace the history of the manuscripts.

When Bancroft was himself accused of inaccuracy or worse, he again asked James Rush to let him see the manuscripts, and was again denied:

JAMES RUSH TO GEORGE BANCROFT

Philadelphia,
May 6, 1867

Dear Sir,

I regret I cannot give an *immediate* return to the expectation of your note. The 'diary' to which you refer is the Autobiography of Dr. Rush, addressed privately to his children; and as such, I kept it from every stranger's eye and hearing. While I was absent in Europe, one of my brothers, without authority, got possession of it; and as you informed me, read or showed some part of it to you; but declined to give you a copy of it. If therefore you will let me see what you have written or published from your memory, I shall be able to compare it with the original, to refute the charges on your candor.

Dr. B. Rush's descendants will gladly accept any confirmation of his veracity, grounded on the broad character of his life; they will not however, enter into unworthy contentions with unworthy and desperate questioners of it; nor do they wish others to bother themselves by doing it.

Very respectfully

James Rush
No. 1914 Chestnut St

[*Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.*]

The reader will notice that in the foregoing letter James Rush did not explicitly state that he had regained possession of the manuscripts. At some time or other they must have left his care for good and all, for they ultimately became heirlooms in the possession of Samuel Rush's descendants. It is to be suspected that Samuel was that one of the brothers who "without authority got possession" of the books, and that once he had them he never gave them back. One of the original notebooks, No. 9, containing Benjamin Rush's religious history and his tributes to his wife and his mother, must have remained in James Rush's hands, for it went with the bulk of the other Rush manuscripts to the Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Branch) and is there to this day. Samuel's grandson Louis Alexander Biddle was the last member of the family who held possession of these manuscripts. In 1905 he at last printed the autobiography, from the expurgated fair copy of 1814, in a privately published volume entitled *A Memorial Containing Travels Through Life or Sundry Incidents in the Life of Dr. Benjamin Rush . . . also Extracts from His Commonplace Books as well as a Short History of the Rush Family in Philadelphia.* Mr. Biddle's estate, Lanoraie, was the stated place of publication. The edition must have been small, for the book did not become widely known to historians and is now quite scarce. This volume makes no mention whatever of the original manuscript notebooks, nor does it reveal the fact that it is an expurgated text. Apparently Louis Alexander Biddle gave no consideration to the fact that some of the expunged passages are of value historically and could have been published without impropriety, a century and a quarter after the events they narrate. The text of the fair copy received no editorial revision at his hands. A few errors, chiefly misreadings of proper names, made by the clerk who copied it in 1814, are perpetuated in the printed book.

When the Alexander Biddle papers were dispersed at auction in 1943, the first eight of the original notebooks and the fair copy were acquired by the American Philosophical Society and added to its notable collection of historical manuscripts.

The Commonplace Books

When Louis Alexander Biddle published the *Travels Through Life*, he included in the same volume 85 pages of excerpts from a commonplace book kept by Benjamin Rush from 1792 to the year of his death, 1813. The manuscript of this book accompanied the autobiographical notebooks when they were sold and was also acquired by the American Philosophical Society. It was found to contain much more than Biddle had printed, for besides the diary entries and the few reflective passages that he selected, there is also a varied miscellany of thoughts on religious topics, notes for lectures, poems, quotations from books, and a curious "dream," all of which are to be found in the present edition.

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian Streets (Ridgway Library) possesses, among its immense collection of Rush papers, a manuscript commonplace book entitled *Letters, Facts, and Observations upon a Variety of Subjects.* This contains about 80 pages of previously unpublished entries made from 1789 to 1791, of the same nature as the diary-type items of the 1792-1813 book. These are headed (p. 75 of the ms.) "Memorable Facts, Events, Opinions, Thots, etc." The two commonplace books, taken together, cover consecutively the last 24 years of Rush's life. In preparing the present edition, therefore, permission of the Library Company was sought and graciously granted, to include the entries of 1789-1791.

The text of *Travels Through Life* is printed herewith without deletion, as Benjamin Rush left it for his children to read, and that of the commonplace books as he wrote them for his own private perusal. These pages reveal the intimate thoughts of a brave, patriotic, and humane man. The time is long past when his reputation can be hurt by the exposure of his weaknesses of temperament and of thought. We can understand now, from his own words, how some of his contemporaries could have called him illogical, headstrong and even hypocritical. We can follow him, if not with full sympathy at least with comprehension, through his hot-headed outburst against George Washington and William Shippen, and his resignation from the army when a steadier man might have chosen to serve his country even under difficulties. At the same time we may learn, from the very passages that his cautious sons would have stricken from the record, how little he deserved the charge of deserting his commander-in-chief, or the foul suspicion of disloyalty that was whispered against him. Most of the misunderstanding of Benjamin Rush, as of other complex personalities, results from oversimplification. This is true not only of his public actions but of his whole mentality and his spirit. He has been called wise, and again foolish; generous, and egotistic; a genius and an intellectual fumbler; a scientific materialist and a believer in revealed religion. That he was all of these at once is shown by the intimate records here printed. To withhold any word of them is to lessen the comprehension which, more than praise or adulation, we owe to the memory of a great man.

The commonplace books are particularly instructive in their picture of Rush's private character. Here he wrote without conscious restraint or art, for himself alone. What he set down and also what he omitted will help us to know his real nature. It is obvious, for example, from the external record of his life, that he was an industrious and constantly productive man, but only these personal records can reveal the austerity and force with which he drove himself in his daily work. There is no mention of a vacation nor scarcely even of a carefree day in all these pages. When he had a free afternoon he took his boys to see an exhibition or visited somebody who might have useful facts to contribute. When Rush went out to dine he wrote down afterwards whatever instructive things he heard but never what he had to eat. This unrelaxing earnestness and absence of self-indulgence in his nature were obviously associated with a lack of the lighter kind of humor. In his private notebooks, if anywhere, Benjamin Rush could have recorded the idly comical things that he had seen or heard in his busy days; but in fact every jest he thought worth preserving is satirical or moralizing. It is certain that he could not lighten his burdens by laughing at himself or at his troubles. This makes it easier to understand his lifelong intolerance of criticism and opposition.

Turning to a more pleasing topic, Rush's sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, already well known from his published writings and his philanthropies, appears here in its more personal aspects. Kindness was so fundamental in his nature that it colored his philosophy, leading him away from orthodox Christianity with its doctrine of inexorable retribution for unrepented sin, toward universalism, which let him hope that even the most depraved sinner might escape the torments of hell. It was this spirit of humanity, more than any reasoning, that made him a democratic friend of the Negroes, and a reformer of prisons and asylums. If he seems a little too well aware, now and then, of this virtue, if he records with a touch of unction his gifts of watermelons to the prisoners in jail or his remission of a medical fee to some poor invalid, we must remember he was communing only with himself.

The entries of "Facts on Natural Knowledge" and "Singular and Useful Facts" emphasize Rush's characteristics as a man of science. He was a collector of odd items of natural history and medical lore, and odd human characters, as other men collected curios for their cabinets. A visitor from overseas was always a potential source of new items for the notebooks and his reports were accepted with respect that often passed into credulity, particularly if they happened to reinforce Rush's theories.

Perhaps the most unkind thing an editor of these books can do for their author is to print his verses. Contemporary physicians who knew the clear, forcible, dignified style of his medical writings, or the students who sat entranced through his superb clinical lectures, would scarcely have believed him the author of such doggerel as he wrote for little William to send to his mother in Canada, or the satirical nonsense about Tennent's ghost; and yet these poems show us the loving husband and father, and help to mollify our verdicts about his parental conduct, for example his opposition to Richard's career and the heavy paternalism of his instructions to James in Edinburgh. The last of the poems, indeed, that of 1812 to his wife on their thirty-sixth wedding anniversary, reveals between its hackneyed lines all the sufferings of this sensitive, overwrought man and all that his Julia's love had done to smooth the rough road along which his tense spirit had driven him.

EDITORIAL TREATMENT

Travels Through Life: The nine surviving manuscript notebooks containing the text have been transcribed without the omission of any words that the author intended to stand. This statement requires only one reservation. To illustrate his habit of recording interesting topics, Rush copied into *Travels Through Life* certain passages from the commonplace books. In order to avoid duplication of several pages, these passages have been printed in full only in the commonplace books and are merely listed on pages 92 and 93 of the *Travels Through Life.*

A few passages marked for deletion by Rush have been retained within brackets and indicated by footnotes, because of special interest or instructiveness.

In the manuscript, the text runs on continuously without breaks or chapter heads, except in two places, where the author made fresh starts under the titles "An Account of Political and Military Events and Observations" and "Religious Principles; Domestic Events." The present editor has taken the liberty of dividing the narrative into nine chapters, seven of which have been provided with plain titles in such words as Rush himself might have adopted. For Chapters V and IX his own two headings, quoted above, have been retained. The division into nine chapters does not coincide with that of the nine notebooks.

The 1789-1791 Commonplace Book: The text occupies the pages numbered 75 to 175 in the manuscript. About 20 pages were torn out, presumably by Rush himself. What remains has been copied literally and fully, except for two items. One of these is a draft, marred by the tearing out of leaves, of the Life of Christopher Ludwick. This was separately published in pamphlet form in 1801 and nothing could be gained by reprinting an imperfect draft. The other omitted passage is a long synopsis of a projected work on medicine in the Bible. This opus, greatly anticipated by some of Rush's friends, seems never to have gotten beyond the outline stage. In its present form it is merely a set of highly condensed headings and scripture references that would, if printed, require more labor of the editor and reader than it would repay in interest or instruction.

The 1792-1813 Commonplace Book: Everything in this manuscript volume is printed in the present edition except the drafts of a few letters that Rush happened to write on available leaves. The more important of these letters will be printed by Mr. L. H. Butterfield in his forthcoming edition of Rush's letters.

The arrangement of the text required arbitrary action by the editor. Rush apparently began to write the dated diary-type entries consecutively on the first and subsequent pages, but at the same time and perhaps later also he opened new sections on fresh pages in various parts of the book, under such headings as Facts on Natural Knowledge, Singular and Useful Facts, Deaths, Deaths of Persons of Note or Singular Character, Instructing Conversations, Thoughts on Religion, etc., etc. Thus there are several series of entries, not sharply classified. Deaths, for example, are entered in two special lists and also in the general diary. Thoughts on religion and other general reflections are interspersed in random fashion among the other entries. To complicate the matter, Rush did not always follow his own headings, but inserted entries wherever a space was available. When the entries under a given heading filled up the allotted pages, he continued on preceding or following pages as happened to be convenient. The result is a state of confusion that required editorial intervention to make the book intelligible.

Whoever chose the selections printed by Biddle in 1905 arranged them in strictly chronological order, but in printing the full text no such simplification could be applied without destroying the spontaneity of the book. The order of Rush's entries has therefore been altered as little as possible, the rule being to make only such rearrangements as the author himself would presumably have made had he prepared a fair copy. The original classifications have been retained. A reader who wants to see all the death notices, or all the items about facts of scientific interest, for example, must look under more than one heading. Under each heading, however, the items have been arranged in chronological order. Datable diary-type entries not specially classified have been placed in the main diary sequence. Undated entries have been left, as far as possible, in juxtaposition with contiguous dated items. The handwriting, which of course changed as Rush grew older, has sometimes served as a guide for decision in difficult cases. A few special problems concerning the sequence of items have been explained in the footnotes. It is to be hoped that the editor's touch has been light, and that the resultant arrangement truly reflects the mental processes of the author as he wrote, sometimes enthusiastically penning a nascent idea, sometimes groping for religious truth, sometimes narrating at midnight a sensational event of the day, or sadly recording the death of a friend.

It has not seemed necessary to complicate the printed text by adding references to the position of each item in the original manuscript. For the convenience of special readers who may wish to compare the printed text with the manuscript, a copy of the present edition, provided with marginal references, will be deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

Spelling, Capitalization, and Punctuation. The manuscript of *Travels Through Life*, as already explained, is a first or at least an early draft. The commonplace books were notes for personal use only. As might be expected of such writings, there are numerous variations of spelling and punctuation, as well as many sheer errors. The capitalization is erratic. Nothing could be gained by literally exact reproduction of such unrevised preliminary drafts. The editor's aim has been to conform the text, with as little modification of Rush's writing as possible, to the style current in his lifetime. The general principles applied in this task have been adopted after consultation with various persons experienced in the editing of eighteenth century manuscripts, and in particular with Mr. Carl Van Doren, Professor Gilbert Chinard, and Mr. L. H. Butterfield. The spelling when clearly erroneous has been corrected without comment. Spellings no longer current, but known to have been accepted in the eighteenth century, on the authority of American printed books or the New English (Oxford) Dictionary, have been allowed to stand, however archaic they may now appear. Proper names, both personal and geographic, have been copied exactly as written, except that superscript letters have been brought down to the line. When so incorrect, or so strongly variant as to be obscure, the presently acceptable form has been added within square brackets. Abbreviations such as *wch.* for *which* and *yt.* for *that* have been written in full. The punctuation has been conformed approximately to modern usage. There has been relatively little change in this respect in the past 150 years, and in any case Rush's erratic dashes, quotation marks, and underscorings would have required drastic control by the printer even in his own time. With respect to capitalization of initial letters, the editor can claim only, as Rush did in a larger sphere, that "he aimed well." In the eighteenth century, when Rush learned to write, it was customary to begin many more words, especially nouns, with capitals than nowadays. Such capitalization should, no doubt, be retained in the printed text of writings so personal as these because, as Professor Chinard has forcibly pointed out in private discussion, they tell us what words and ideas were especially important in the author's thought. Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain Rush's personal practice. His capitalization is full of inconsistencies. He almost always capitalized *School, College, University*;

usually *Brother* and *Sister*, though seldom *father* and *mother*. *Society* in all its senses, and *System* (of medicine) are regularly capitalized. *Constitution*, *republican*, *independence* (which incidentally, Rush always spelled *—ance*) vary as to capitalization without obvious rules. To make matters worse, Rush's handwriting has special peculiarities with respect to initial letters, such that it is often impossible to know whether he intended to use a capital letter or not. He wrote some initial letters in capital form but of minuscular size, and often made his small initials as large as capitals. All that could be done editorially, therefore, was to aim at such capitalization as the printer would have allowed in Rush's time. Thus the modern editor must assume unavoidably a certain responsibility for interpreting Rush's thought as to words of special importance or honor.

With respect to verbal errors, few corrections have been necessary. Rush often made small slips such, for example, as writing *that* when he intended *than*. These have been corrected, usually without comment. In one or two places, indicated by footnotes, a few repetitious connecting words have been omitted. Except for such trivial corrections, there has been no alteration whatever of the wording.

The editorial revisions, indeed, amount to very little, but specialists in historical orthography, who are interested in the details of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, or who wish to know the kinds of errors the author made in writing his first drafts, must consult the manuscripts rather than the present transcription.

For less specialized readers it should perhaps be added that the text as now printed retains a little more of the eighteenth century style than it would exhibit if it had actually been printed in Rush's later lifetime or after his death. This will be readily apparent by comparison with the Biddle edition, which was made from the fair copy of 1814. The penman who prepared that version conformed everything to the practices of his own period; the present editor on the contrary has retained every usage that was not erroneous in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Rush, born in 1745, was in school and college about 1752-1760. His style as seen in *Travels Through Life* and the commonplace books, here sparingly corrected, is somewhat more archaic than the standard printing-house style of 1789 to 1813, when these texts were written, and of 1814, when they might first have been printed. Whatever inconsistency there may be in this treatment of Rush's informal writings, is justified (let us hope) by the retention of the author's personality as reflected in his style.

Acknowledgments

The task of preparing this volume was undertaken at the request of the American Philosophical Society. The editor was appointed a Library Research Associate of the Society, 1945-1947, and received a grant from the Committee on Research to defray the expenses of the work. The Librarian, Dr. William E. Lingelbach, the Assistant Librarian, Mrs. Gertrude D. Hess, and their staff have been very helpful in providing facilities and assistance.

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian Streets, generously permitted the publication of manuscript material, as mentioned above. Through the courtesy of Dr. John H. Powell, Assistant Librarian in Charge of Research, the great collection of Rush papers and other materials have been made freely available.

The editor is especially grateful to two members of his immediate family, not only for their scholarly aid, but also for their enthusiastic interest in the work. Betsy Copping Corner (Mrs. George W. Corner) gave expert and indefatigable assistance, contributing her skill in library research to the identification of many of the more obscure persons, events and literary references. Miss Hester Ann Corner transcribed the most difficult part of the manuscript material (the commonplace book of 1792-1813) and did a large amount of preliminary historical and biographical investigation. Benjamin Rush would have understood a father's pride in his daughter's collaboration and his sorrow that she did not live to see the fruits of their work.

Shortly after this task was begun, Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield, now of Princeton, New Jersey, made known to the American Philosophical Society his intention of publishing an edition of Benjamin Rush's letters, and received a grant for that purpose. The preparation of the letters and of the autobiographical manuscripts has been carried on simultaneously and with frequent consultation between the two editors. Mr. Butterfield has been most generous in sharing his deep knowledge of Rush's life and correspondence. He has found time to read the text and notes of the present book in typescript and to furnish many comments and suggestions. The reader will get some idea of the extent of his contribution from the frequency with which his name is cited. In particular, most of the pertinent citations from Rush's letters have been contributed by him. Many other passages, not specifically indicated, have been bettered by his advice.

Cordial thanks are due also to the following individuals and institutions for information and for the use of books and manuscripts: *Accomac, Va.*: Mr. Ralph T. Whitelaw. *Alexandria, Va.*: Dr. Leslie Hotson. *Annapolis*: State Archives of Maryland. *Baltimore*: Professor Don Cameron Allen; Rev. C. Sturges Ball; Library of the Peabody Institute; Dr. J. Hall Pleasants; Maryland Historical Society; Enoch Pratt Free Library; Dr. Owsei Temkin; Welch Medical Library of Johns Hopkins University. *Bloomington, Indiana*: Indiana University Libraries. *Boston*: Congregational House, Mr. F. L. Persons; Dr. Reginald Fitz; Massachusetts Historical Society; Public Library. *Bryn Mawr, Pa.*: Library of Bryn Mawr College; Professor Angelina H. Lo Grasso. *Charleston, S.C.*: Professor A. M. Lassek; Rev. Dr. G. J. Gongaware; Dr. Joseph I. Waring. *Colora, Md.*: Mr. J. Paul Slaybaugh, Headmaster, West Nottingham Academy. *Copenhagen*: Professor Harold Okkels, Dr. Bröste. *Edinburgh*: Scots Ancestry Research Society. *Halifax*: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Mr. D. E. Harvey, Archivist. *Haverford, Pa.*: Professor Rufus M. Jones; Haverford College Library. *Horley (Oxfordshire), England*: Rev. D. Glynn Morgan. *London*: British Museum, Mr. E. J. C. Dingwall, Hon. Asst. Keeper of Printed Books; Mrs. V. Heddon; Public Record Office. *Marietta, Ohio*: Library of Marietta College, Mr. Blazier. *Middletown, Conn.*: Mr. Charles Coleman Sellers. *New Haven*: Mr. Donald G. Wing. *Ottawa*: Public Archives of Canada. *New York*: Mr. Murray Gottlieb; New-York Historical Society; New York Times; Pierpont Morgan Library; Public Library; Mr. Carl Van Doren. *New Orleans*: Professor Harold Cummins. *Point Pleasant, N.Y.*: Mrs. Henry V. Seide. *Penrith, England*: Rev. Trevor M. Jones. *Philadelphia*: Court of Oyer and Terminer, Mr. Joseph De Vito, Chief Clerk; College of Physicians, Mr. W. B. McDaniel II, Librarian; John Dickinson, Esq.; Dr. Clifford B. Farr; Mr. James E. Gibson; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Christ Church, Rev. E. Felix Kloman, Rector; Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital; Dr. O. H. Perry Pepper; Office of the Prothonotary, Court of Common Pleas; Office of the Register of Wills; Professor Richard H. Shryock; Library of Temple University Law School. *Port of Spain*: The Secretariat of Trinidad. *Princeton*: Professor Gilbert Chinard. *Providence*: Professor R. C. Archibald. *Richmond*: Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton; Dr. Douglas S. Freeman; Virginia Historical Society, Mr. Clayton Torrence, Secretary. *Washington*: Library of Congress, Dr. St. George L. Sioussat; National Archives, Mr. Lyle J. Holverstott, Mr. Dan Lacy, Office of Navy Records, Mr. Almon R. Wright.

The *Principal Events* of Benjamin Rush's Life

1746, January 4 (December 24, 1745, Old Style). Born at Byberry, Pennsylvania

1751, July 26. His father, John Rush, died

1754 (approximately). Entered school at West Nottingham, Maryland

1759, spring. Matriculated at the College of New Jersey, Princeton

1760, September. Graduated B.A.

1760, autumn. Apprenticed to Dr. John Redman

1766, August. Entered the University of Edinburgh

1768, June. Graduated M.D.

1768-1769. Visited London and Paris

1769, July. Returned to Philadelphia, began the practice of medicine

1769, August. Elected professor of Chemistry in the College of Philadelphia

1775, July 20 to March 1776. Member of the Continental Congress

1776, January 11. Married Julia Stockton

1776, August 2. Signed the Declaration of Independence

1776, December to January 1777. Surgeon with the Philadelphia militia, 2nd battle of Trenton, battlefield of Princeton

1777, April to January 1778. Physician general, Middle Department, Continental Army

1789. Elected professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine, College of Philadelphia

1792. Elected professor of the Institutes of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania

1793. Great epidemic of yellow fever

1796. Elected professor of the Practice of Physic

1797. Appointed Treasurer of the United States Mint

1797-1799. Lawsuit against William Cobbett

1797-1801. Vice-president of the American Philosophical Society

1813, April 19. Died at Philadelphia

Abbreviated Titles of Works frequently Cited in the Notes

Allg. Deutsch. Biog., *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1875-1912.

Biddle, *A Memorial, containing Travels Through Life or Sundry Incidents in the Life of Dr. Benjamin Rush . . . Written by Himself; also Extracts from his Commonplace Book as well as a Short History of the Rush Family in Pennsylvania. Published privately for the benefit of his Descendants, by Louis Alexander Biddle*, Lanoraie, 1905.

Biog. Direct. Am. Cong., *Biographical Directory of The American Congress, 1794-1927*, Washington, 1928.

DAB, *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1928-1937.

DNB, *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1908-1909.

Gillett: Ezra H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Philadelphia, 1864.

Goodman: N. G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush, Patriot and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1934.

Indiana University Ms.: Manuscript record of Benjamin Rush's visit to Edinburgh, 1768-1769, in possession of the Indiana University Libraries, Bloomington.

Jour. Cont. Cong., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-89*, edited by Worthington C. Ford, Washington, 1904-1910.

Kelly-Burrage: Howard A. Kelly and Walter L. Burrage, *Dictionary of American Medical Biography*, New York, 1928.

LHB, *Rush Letters*: This reference indicates that the letter cited will be printed in the forthcoming collection of letters of Benjamin Rush, in preparation by Mr. L. H. Butterfield of Princeton, N.J., under a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

List of Apprentices: Benjamin Rush's list of his medical apprentices in the ms. commonplace book entitled "Letters, Facts, and Observations upon a Variety of Subjects," in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia (see Introduction). The list has been conveniently arranged and published by James E. Gibson, "Benjamin Rush's Apprenticed Students," *Trans. and Stud. Coll. Phys. Phila.*, 4th ser., vol. 14, 1946.

Martin, Bench and Bar: John Hill Martin, *The Bench and Bar of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1883.

Morgan Ms.: Manuscript record of Benjamin Rush's journey to Paris, 1769, in possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City.

Morton: Thomas G. Morton, assisted by Frank Woodbury, *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1895*, Philadelphia, 1895.

NBG, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1856.

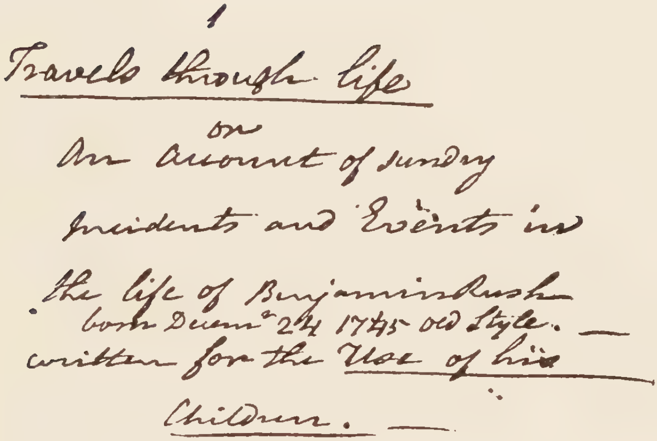
Pleasants Ms. Notes: Manuscript notes on the Hall family of Cecil County, Maryland, in possession of the compiler, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, Baltimore.

Rush Mss.: Rush papers in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Library), Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia.

Scharf-Westcott: J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia 1609-1884*, Philadelphia, 1884.

Sprague: W. S. Sprague, *History of the American Pulpit*, Philadelphia, 1857-1869.

Watson: John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, enlarged by Willis P. Hazard, Philadelphia, 1881.



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Travels through life
or
An account of sundry
Incidents and Events in
the life of Benjamin Rush
born Decem^{r} 24 1745 old Style. —
written for the Use of his
Children. —

Chapters I to VIII are printed from the manuscript notebooks in the library of The American Philosophical Society; Chapter IX from the manuscript in possession of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Travels Through Life

An Account of sundry Incidents & Events in the life of

BENJAMIN RUSH

I. *Ancestry and Parentage*

My dear children,

My life has been a variegated one. Under a conviction that I shall not live to give its details to the younger branches of my family, I have concluded to put upon paper a few incidents that may perhaps afford entertainment and instruction to them when I am no more. It is my wish that it may not be read out of the circle of my family, and that it may never be published.[1]

There is a natural solicitude in man to be acquainted with the history of his ancestors. This solicitude is greatest in the evening of life. I have felt it. It has prompted to inquiries upon this subject of which the following are the details.

John Rush and Susanna his wife arrived in Pennsylvania from England in the year 1683 with eight children and several grand children. Their names and ages may been seen in a list of his descendants, preserved with sundry letters, notes &c of his family in my box of private papers.[2] He had commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's army, and was personally known to, and respected by Cromwell as an active and intelligent officer. One of his grand sons, Thomas Rush,[3] who used to visit me about the year 1770 and 1771, and who was then about 84 years of age, passed the first 13 or 14 years of his life with him, and received from him many details of his battles and skirmishes, one of which was as follows. He was once ordered out with the command of a reconnoitering party. Soon afterwards his mare came into camp without him. Cromwell saw her, and said "Poor Captain Rush is no more. He has not left a better officer in my army." Soon afterwards he came in, covered with mud, and was received with great joy by all his brother officers. In a retreat his mare had fallen into a ditch, and thrown him off. The enemy thought him dead, and pursued his mare. After they had left the ditch, he rose and came into camp. The mare he rode was a grey color. In honor of this event, Thomas Rush his grandson always rode a grey mare.

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[1] The reasons for disregarding BR's wishes are discussed in the Introduction.

[2] The list mentioned by BR was presumably the original source of "An Account of the Descendants of John and Susanna Rush," copied by Dr. James Rush onto blank leaves of his Bible and printed in Biddle, pp. 221-236. The whereabouts of the original manuscript of the list, of John Rush's will, and of the other papers mentioned below (pp. 24-25) if they still exist, is unknown.

[3] According to the genealogical account in Biddle, this Thomas Rush was the younger son of Thomas Rush, 1654-1676, and was therefore first cousin to BR's

I know nothing of his family in the part of England (Hortun [Hornton], Oxfordshire) from which he came.[4] The name of Rush is an ancient one in that County, and very common in the two adjoining Counties of Leicester and Berks. It is a sufficient gratification to me to know that he fought for liberty, and migrated into a remote wilderness in the evening of his life in order to enjoy the priviledge of worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience. He with his whole family were Quakers when they arrived. They afterwards joined the society of George Keith.[5] Some of them became Baptists. His wife was baptized about the 80th year of her age and his eldest daughter in her 65th. He died in 1699, aged about 80. His wife survived him about seven years. His will and the register of the

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grandfather James Rush, 1679-1772. He came to America with his grandfather John Rush, 1620-1699, the original settler.

[4] There is no "Hortun" in England, but there is a Horley-with-Hornton and a Horton in Oxfordshire and another Horton in Buckinghamshire. Biddle's edition and the fair copy from which it was printed do not tell us how BR's sons understood the matter, for they omitted these first pages. Family tradition, however, points to Hornton; the family history, printed from BR's notes, in Biddle's edition states that John Rush and Susanna Lucas were married at Horton in 1648, whereas the genealogical tree, probably prepared by Henry J. Williams, spells the place-name "Hornton." BR used the form "Hornton" in a letter to James Rush, May 10, 1810 (Rush mss.). In 1946 the Vicar of Horley-with-Hornton, Rev. E. Glyn Morgan, very kindly searched his parish registers and corresponded with the incumbents of both Hortons. There proved to be no baptismal record of John Rush at Hornton, nor at Horton, Bucks, in 1619-1621. The parish of Horton near Oxford was not created until the nineteenth century. Thus the exact place of origin of BR's line remains undetermined. John Rush was probably born in some place near Hornton.

[5] George Keith, ca.1638-1716, a scholarly but contentious man, organized a separatist group of Friends, the "Christian Quakers," which set up meetings in Philadelphia, in Bucks Co., Pa., and in Burlington, N.J., in 1692. The movement died out in a few years (DAB; Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the North American Colonies*, London, 1911).

births of all, and deaths of two of his children, are tied up with the geneological tree of his family. I am the eldest son of the 5th generation descended from him. The names of the intermediate links of the family are William, James, and John.[6] William died in his 38th year at Byberry; his eldest son James died at about 47 upon his farm on Pequistian [Poquessing] Creek in Byberry, near the Bristol Road. A head stone in the family grave yard, about half a mile from the Red Lyon tavern on the Bristol road, contains an account of his age and death, and the following lines:

"I've tried the strength of death at length
And now lie under ground.
But I shall rise, above the skies
At the last trumpet's sound."

He was an amiable, industrious man. He left a considerable property for those times, to his children, unincumbered with a single debt. One of his daughters who remembered him said "he attended to both worlds." He was a Presbyterian. My father succeeded to his business, which was that of a gun smith, and to his farm, on which he lived for many years.[7] He removed to Philadelphia to a house in Front Street which belonged to his mother, where he followed his trade with great industry and success for a few years. He was a very ingenious man, and so strictly just that one of his neighbours used to say of him, that "the highest character that could be given of a man was to say he was as honest as John Rush."

My mother's ancestors were all from England. Her grand father Solmn. Hall[8] bought a large tract of land on the Delaware six miles from Tackony [Tacony], where he died. Her father Joseph Hall succeeded to it. He had the following children: Solomon, [Theo] Dorus, Jacob, John, Rebecca, Susanna, Sarah and Ruth. Rebecca married Isaac Leech[9] by whom she had a number of children. She afterwards married the Revd. Mr. Richd. Treat.[10] Sarah married the Revd. Samuel Finley[11] and had by him seven or eight children. Ruth married Elisha Hall[12] of Maryland by whom she had 5 sons and one daughter. She afterwards married the Revd. Mr. James Hunt[13] of Maryland by whom she had two sons. My mother Susanna married Joseph Harvey[14] by whom she had one daughter, who married ——— Willis by whom she had several children. By my father she had the children hereafter named. She was a woman of a very extraordinary mind. It was full of energy. She had been well educated at a boarding School, in Philadelphia, and was well acquainted with the common branches of female education. As a mother she had no superior in kindness, generosity, and attention to the morals and religious principles of her children. I shall introduce her name and character in another place, when I come to mention her death. I return to the history of my father. I remember his person and manners. They were agreeable and engaging. Many of his opinions and sayings which my mother has mentioned to me indicated a talent for observation and combination which were far above his education and rank in life. I shall mention but one specimen of them, which my mother mentioned to me upon observing the pleasure I enjoyed in hearing the first attempts of my eldest son to speak. "The first words of a child, and the last words of a saint, are the sweetest music in the world." He was exemplary in his life, and lived and died in communion with the Episcopal Church, on the 26th of July 1751 in the 39th year of his age. He was fond of reading, especially religious books. I bought and read Bishop Beveridge's "Private Thoughts on Religion,"[15] only because my mother informed me that he valued it next to his Bible. I have heard one of his apprentices who lived six years in his family say, that he never saw him but once out of temper. His death was peaceful and happy. The last words he uttered were "Lord! Lord! Lord! Lord!"

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[6] The line of descent was as follows: William Rush, 1652-1688; James Rush, 1679-1772; John Rush, 1712-1751 (Biddle, pp. 225-228).

[7] The farm is near the present Red Lion and Academy roads. The farmhouse, in which BR was born, is still standing though somewhat altered (Goodman, pp. 3-4, and Appendix, which consists of a letter from BR to John Adams, written in 1812, concerning his birthplace).

[8] Thanks to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of Baltimore, who made available his manuscript notes on the Hall family, it is possible to supply certain additions and corrections to the genealogy given by BR. The original settler, Jacob (not Solomon) Hall, came from Macclesfield, England, to Pennsylvania in 1685 ("Registry of the Inhabitants of Bucks County," in J. H. Battle, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1887) and settled at Tacony in 1691. His second son, Joseph Hall, 1686-1731, married Rebecca Rutter, daughter of Thomas Rutter, 16---1730, the first iron-manufacturer of Pennsylvania. Their large family began with a Joseph (not Solomon), a Theodorus, and a Thomas. After them the list agrees with that given by BR except for three more children, not mentioned here, who died young.

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[9] Isaac Leech, 1692-1744, was a wealthy farmer and tanner of Cheltenham township, who possessed a large landed estate (J. G. Leach, *Chronicles of the Yerkes Family, with Notes on the Leech and Rutter Families*, Philadelphia, 1904).

[10] Richard Treat, D.D., 1708-1778, born in Connecticut, A.B. Yale 1725, was pastor of the Presbyterian church in Abington, Pa. for more than forty years (Sprague).

[11] Samuel Finley, D.D., 1715-1766, born in County Armagh, Ireland, came to the U.S. in 1734. He was a leader in the Whitefield wing of the Presbyterians; pastor of the church at Nottingham, Md. 1744 and founder of West Nottingham Academy; president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) 1761 (DAB). See below, pp. 29-31, for BR's characterization of him.

[12] Elisha Hall, 1723?-1757, was the son of Elihu Hall, 1692-1753, of Mt. Welcome, near the Susquehanna River in Cecil Co., Md. This family of Halls, not related to the lineage of BR's mother, occupied extensive lands granted to them in the earliest days of the province on which two old houses, "Octorara" and "Mt. Welcome," still stand. (Pleasants ms. notes; Christopher Johnson, "The Hall Family of Calvert County," *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, 1913, VIII.)

[13] James Hunt, 1731-1793, a scholarly Presbyterian minister, during the latter part of his life was in charge of Cabin John church near Rockville, Montgomery Co., Md., and conducted a classical school at his home, "Tusculum" (Pleasants ms. notes).

[14] See p. 167 for a comment on the character of Susanna Rush's first husband, Joseph Harvey.

"My boast is not, that I derive my birth,
From loins enthroned, and rulers of the earth,
But higher far my proud pretensions rise,
The son of parents, passed into the skies."[16]

My father left an estate consisting of three houses in the city of Philadelphia but the income from them being too small to educate six children, my mother removed from her own house, and opened a grocery shop in a public street in which she sold, among other things, liquors by wholesale and retail. Her industry and uncommon talents and address in doing business commanded success, so that she was enabled, not only to educate her children agreeably to her wishes, but to save money.[17] She married, some years after the death of my father, Richd. Morris, a Distiller, whom she survived.[18] My youngest brother [John] died soon after my father. My eldest brother, James Rush,[19] had been much afflicted with a nervous disease for which his physicians advised a sea-life. He was perfectly cured by it, but died at sea in the 21st year of his age of a yellow fever taken a few days before in the Island of Jamaica. He was a young man of promising character. I well recollect my grief upon hearing of his death. It was the first time I ever felt that species of distress. My two sisters Rachel and Rebecca[20] married with good prospects and settled in Philadelphia. The youngest died of the yellow fever under my roof in 1793. The eldest died in Harrisburgh in October 1798. She was then the widow of the Revd. Joseph Montgomery, the Register of Wills of Dauphin County.[21]

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[15] William Beveridge, 1637-1708, bishop of St. Asaph, *Private Thoughts on Religion*, London, 1709.

[16] A stanza of William Cowper's poem "On the Receipt of my Mother's Picture" (*Poetical Works*, edited by H. S. Milford, Oxford, 2nd ed. 1926, p. 396). This poem was first published in 1798, less than three years before BR quoted it here.

[17] The will of Susanna Morris, now among the Rush mss. at the Ridgway Library, was endorsed by her grandson, James Rush, as follows, "Mrs. Morris, the mother of Dr. Rush, was left by her first husband, John Rush, with some little property and five children to bring up upon it. To enable her to do this, she went into business. She was a woman of good sense, high temper, and energy in her affairs, but having perhaps that coarseness which those qualities are apt to be attended with in low life and consequently uneducated life. By the superscription of these letters it appears that the sign over her store was that of a comet or blazing star. The house was in Market Street, about the fourth door below second on the south side. It was a kind of grocery, as they were at that day, somewhat like a country store now, that is, dealing in market provisions besides. She afterwards purchased a house on the other side of Market Street opposite and there kept a china store."

[18] BR says later (p. 167) that Morris was rough, unkind and often abusive in his treatment of his wife.

[19] James Rush was born in 1739 (genealogical table in Biddle).

II. *School and College*

MY only surviving brother, Jacob Rush,[22] and myself were sent to a country School in Nottingham, now in Cecil county in the State of Maryland,[23] a few years after our father died. This School was taught by the Revd. Dr. Saml. Finley, afterwards President of the

[20] Rebecca Rush, ca.1744-1793, married (1) Thomas Stamper, a sea-captain, and (2) ——— Wallace. Her heroic death is related by BR in *Letters Relating to Yellow Fever*, Philadelphia, 1892, entries for Sept. 26 to Oct. 1, 1793. She had volunteered to keep house for her brother while Mrs. Rush and the children were in Princeton to escape the epidemic.

Rachel Rush, ca.1741-1798, married (1) Angus Boyce, and (2) Rev. Joseph Montgomery (Biddle, p. 228). She died in July 1798, not October (see p. 169).

[21] Joseph Montgomery, 1733-1794, a graduate of the College of New Jersey in 1755, was a Presbyterian minister in Delaware and Pennsylvania; member of Congress from Pennsylvania 1780-1782 (J. M. Forster, *A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Joseph Montgomery*, Harrisburg, 1879).

[22] Jacob Rush, 1747-1820, seems to have been rather overshadowed by his brother. He was graduated from West Nottingham Academy in 1761 and from Princeton in 1765. At college he was regarded as a budding parliamentarian. A college-mate wrote of him: "You will please present my very best compliments to Master Rush. I desire to keep on amicable terms, at least, with that gentleman, for you know he is to be speaker of the Hon. House of Commons. For my part, I think he bids fair to fill a large two-armed chair, as Sergeant tells me he is at least two feet more globular than he was twelve months ago." (W. J. Mills, editor, *Glimpses of Colonial Society and the Life at Princeton College, 1766-1773, by One of the Class of 1763, William Paterson*, Philadelphia, 1903; letter of May 21, 1767.) He studied at the Middle Temple 1771 (letters to BR, Rush mss.), was deputy secretary of Congress in 1777, and was admitted to the bar in 1777. Before the adoption of the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790 he was one of the judges of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. From 1806 to 1820 he occupied the less prominent position of judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He published several volumes on legal and religious topics and is said to have been a man of firm character and considerable eloquence (Scharf-Westcott, II, 1531-1532).

[23] West Nottingham Academy was then located in the village of Rising Sun, on the highway now designated as U.S. 1. The school is now charmingly situated in the country at Colora, about 2 mi. south of Rising Sun. A memorial arch at the en-

College of New Jersey, and who had married one of the sisters of my mother. It was then the most respectable and flourishing of any in the middle provinces of America. The character of Dr. Finley as a minister of the gospel and Scholar is well known to thousands in this country, but he is less known as a teacher of an academy, and a master of a family. Few men have ever possessed or displayed greater talents in both those capacities. His government over his boys was strict but never severe nor arbitrary. It was always by known laws which were plain, and often promulgated. The object of a law, whether it related to great or little matters, was never taken into consideration in the trial of an offender. I remember he once issued an order forbidding his boys to throw stones at his fruit trees in order to obtain fruit from them. Soon afterwards he observed a boy flinging stones up an apple tree. He came up to him, and struck him with his hand on the side of his head. The boy remonstrated against his punishment, and said the tree had no fruit on it, and that he was only amusing himself by trying to hit a decayed apple of the last year's growth which hung upon one of the highest branches of the tree. "This is no excuse for your offence (said the Doctor). By throwing at that decayed apple you injure the tree. You have moreover broken a law, which though apparently trifling, will lead you to break laws of more importance." In the infliction of punishments in his School, he always premised them by a discourse upon the nature, hainousness, or tendency of the offence. Sometimes he made all the Scholars in the School give their opinions upon the nature of an offence, before he gave his own, and now and then he obliged them to pronounce sentence of punishment, before he inflicted it. The instrument with which he corrected was a small switch which he broke from a tree. The part he struck was the palm of the hand, and that never more than three times. The solemn forms connected with this punishment were more terrible and distressing than the punishment itself. I once saw him spend half an hour in exposing the folly and wickedness of an offence with his rod in hand. The culprit stood all this while trembling and weeping before him. After he had ended his admonitions, he lifted his rod as high as he could and then permitted it to fall gently upon his hand. The boy was surprized at this conduct. "There, go about your business (said the Doc-

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trance commemorates the two alumni who signed the Declaration of Independence, Stockton and Rush. BR was a pupil from about 1753 to 1759.

The region of the "Nottingham Lots," long in dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania, was definitely assigned to the former state after the Mason and Dixon Line was run, in 1765.

tor). I mean shame, and not pain [to] be your punishment in the present instance."

He took uncommon pains to promote good manners among his Scholars. The slightest act of incivility was reproved. This he did at his table and in so elegant and delicate a manner as not to expose the person who was rebuked. He selected a number of artificial characters with which he connected all the usual follies and improprieties of boys. To these he gave the names of Thomas Broadbrim, Ned Short, Bill Slovenly, and the like. These characters he contrasted by the history of Johnny Courtley, who was an example of all that was proper and amiable in the conduct of a young man. His manner of describing these characters was so agreeable as to fix even the most volatile and desultory of his boys to their chairs. Sometimes his descriptions were interspersed with anecdotes that excited a burst of laughter. If in his walks and in his study he occasionally overheard an improper expression, or saw an improper act in any of his boys, he never failed to take notice of it at the ensuing meal, but in such a manner as not to excite a suspicion that a personal application of what was said, was intended. One evening I recollect he dwelled chiefly upon the character of Ned Short. Among other things, he informed us that he was of a quick temper, and very prone to give rude answers to the most innocent questions. "For instance (said he), if one of his companions asked him if he knew where his book was, he would answer 'Ask about.' " Here he paused. A blush appeared in the countenance of one of his boys, who had on that day given that answer to a question of a similar nature. The Doctor did not appear to be conscious that the rebuke had produced its intended effect. But his table was not made subservient only to this mode of instruction. He made it a constant practice to admit his boys to eat with all the strangers who visited him. The benefits derived from the news, anecdotes, and general conversations which young people are thus permitted to hear are much greater than is generally supposed. "Conversation (said a wise man) is education," and one of the first geniuses in Britain has declared that he learned more from the conversation of one man whom he named, than from all the books he ever read in his life. I could repeat an hundred things I heard at the table of my master to which I then was constrained to lend a reluctant and impatient ear, but which have since become the seeds of useful knowledge. I owe my present ideas of the misery connected with great wealth, to a dream which the Revd. Mr. Richd. Treat related at his table when I was about 12 years old.

He inculcated at all times a regard to the common forms of good breeding. For this purpose, he frequently exercised his pupils in delivering and receiving letters, and in asking and receiving favors. He extended his attention to forms, to the composition, folding, and direction of letters. These had their rules, and were applied by him to different ranks and subjects according as they were upon business, or mere letters of friendship.

His method of teaching the Latin and Greek languages was simple. He taught several of the Arts and Sciences usually taught in Colleges. In these he was unfortunately tied down to the principles and forms that were common in the Schools of that day. He had studied the English language, and taught the reading, writing, and speaking of it with great care and success.

In the government and instruction of his family he exhibited an example of apostolical prudence, piety and zeal. He read and explained the whole or part of a chapter in the Old or New Testament every morning and evening before prayers in his family. Many of the remarks that he made upon passages in the Bible, which then passed hastily through my mind, have occurred to me many years afterwards, and I hope not without some effect. He obliged all the boys who lodged in his house to commit the Shorter Catechism of the Church of Scotland to memory, and to repeat it every Sunday evening. Upon each of the answers, he made pertinent and instructing or pious remarks. He likewise obliged all the members of his family to repeat what they remembered of the sermons they had heard at church. I cannot commend this practice too highly. It created habits of attention and recollection. I was much struck in observing how much we improved in the knowledge we brought home of the sermon by exercise. Two of his Scholars I recollect frequently gave, between them, every idea mentioned in a sermon.

The Instructions of the Sunday evening were usually closed by delivering in a plain way some of the most striking and intelligible evidences of the truth of the Christian Religion. Many of his arguments upon these occasions, tho' cloathed in simple language, were the same which are to be met with in the most logical writers upon that subject, and to the impressions they made upon my understanding, I ascribe my not having at any time of my life ever entertained a doubt of the divine origin of the Bible. I wish this mode of fortifying the reason of young people in the principles of Christianity were more general. The impressions which are made upon their fears, or their faith, by sermons and creeds soon wear away, but arguments fixed in the understanding are indelible. They operate upon the judgement, and this process of the mind we know to yield as necessarily to the impression of truth as vision in a sound eye succeeds the impression from the rays of light.

One more branch of education remains to be mentioned which was taught in the Doctor's family, and that is practical agriculture. All his boarders shared in the labors of Harvest and hay making. I bear on one of my fingers to this day the mark of a severe cut I received in learning to reap. These exercises were both pleasant and useful. They begat health, and helped to implant more deeply in our minds the native passion for rural life. Perhaps it may be ascribed in part to their influence, that not a single instance of death, and not more than two or three instances of sickness occurred in the Doctor's family during the time I lived in it, which was five years. The family seldom consisted of less than thirty persons.

The comfort and reputation of a boarding School depends so much upon the conduct of the wife of its master, that the account I have given would be very defective without mentioning that my aunt (with a small deduction on account of the irritability of her temper, occasioned by bad health) was eminently qualified for her station. She was industrious, intelligent, frugal, and in every other respect a good housewife. She possessed information upon many subjects, and some wit, which rendered her agreeable in conversation. She kept a plentiful table of country food dressed in a pleasant manner. The record of this fact will not appear trifling to those who know that the appetite is the ruling principle in young people, and that no advantages in point of education will be duly appreciated where it is not pleased, nor any acts of injustice committed by boarding Schools remembered with less forgiveness, than scanty, or ill-dressed meals. I quit the history of this delightful haunt of my youth with reluctance. There is not a fruit tree, nor a rivulet of water on it that was not dear to me. Some years after I left it, I rode several miles out of my way to visit it. I rambled with a melancholy pleasure slowly over the fields and meadows and orchard in which I had shared with my master and Schoolmates in rural labors and festivity. I sat down in the dining room of the old mansion house, and stood silent and motionless for a considerable time in the Schoolhouse, which was then used as a weavers' shop. Most of the members of that once happy family are now no more. Seven out of eight of Dr. Finley's children sleep with their father and mother in the grave.

Many of my Schoolmates filled important stations, and discharged the duties of useful professions with honor to themselves and benefit to their country. I avoid naming them lest by omitting any I should give offence. One thing only damps the review of the time I spent at this School, and that is that I profited so much less than I might have done from all the opportunities I enjoyed of literary and moral instruction. An education at a country School has many advantages, but it has one disadvantage, which operates with peculiar force upon city boys, and that is the facility with which the amusements of hunting, gunning and the like are to be obtained is so great as to overpower the relish for study. From much reflection upon this subject I am satisfied that it would be wise in country Schoolmasters to forbid those amusements altogether. They are all attended with more or less risk to health and morals. Rural employments might easily be substituted in their room. These establish early ideas of a connection between industry and property, and they lay a foundation for those agricultural pursuits or pleasures, which are often the result of necessity, or of independence and leisure.

The mind of a boy could as soon cease to exist, as cease to be active. Shut out from play, it retreats of choice to study. One of the most accomplished Scholars I ever knew, was an idle boy 'till he was 14 years of age. He always ascribed his fondness for books to his being confined for bad behaviour two or three days in his grand father's library. To obviate the ennui of idleness, he took down a book which he found entertaining. He read it through, by which means he suddenly acquired a taste for reading and knowledge that continued during the remainder of his life.

In taking leave of the School and family of my venerable preceptor, I have only to add that he died in the city of Philadelphia in the month of July in the year 1766 in the 51st year of his age. I sat up with him every other night for several weeks, and finally performed the distressing office of closing his eyes. The annals of Christian biography do not furnish an instance of more patience in sickness, nor of a greater triumph in death. His conversation for several days before he died was elevated, pious, and eloquent in the highest degree. It was carefully recorded by one of his attendants, and afterwards published by Mr. Aitken in the United States magazine.[24] The character and manners of this excellent man commanded respect and affection from his numerous pupils. I never met with one of them who did not admire, esteem and love him. Some of them expressed their respect for his memory in terms bordering upon idolatry. I endeavoured to show my gratitude to him by adopting and educating his youngest son, who is now a respectable physician and citizen of South Carolina.[25] His picture forms a part of the furniture of my house.

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[24] An article on Finley's last words, presumably the one mentioned here by BR, appeared in the *United States Magazine*, volume 1, Philadelphia, 1779. This magazine was printed by Francis Bailey, not by Robert Aitkin. The article was called "Con-

My classmates at this school were the Revd. Charles Cummins and Joseph Alexander of South Carolina, Dr. Wm. Williams of Virginia, Dr. John Archer of Maryland, and Dr. Thomas Ruston and Ebenezer Hazard[26] of Philadelphia, all of whom are now living, July 1800. A similar instance of seven persons connected in any way, living 44 years after being separated, and in a country that had been

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trast between the Death of a Deist and a Christian: David Hume and Samuel Finley." The last sayings of Finley were taken from a diary kept by Rev. Richard Treat. The article was signed "B———"; the style suggests that it may have been put together by BR.

[25] James Edwards Burr Finley became BR's apprentice in 1775, and served as a regimental surgeon during the Revolutionary War. He went to the island of St. Helena, S.C., in 1785, later removing to Willtown (St. Paul's Parish) where he remained several years, and finally to Beaufort in 1801. He married a doctor's widow, Mary (Peronneau) Young of Charleston, and led the life of a struggling country and small-town practitioner. He was still repaying loans from BR as late as 1803. He remained a devoted admirer of BR, for whom he named his first son, Samuel Benjamin Rush Finley; and he sent him several promising young men as apprentices (Letters of J. E. B. Finley to BR, in the Rush mss. at the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia).

[26] The name of Charles Cummins does not appear in the alumni list of West Nottingham Academy, which however is known to be incomplete for the earlier years. A Rev. Charles Cummings, said to have been born in Ireland, but to have received most of his education in America, was a prominent pioneer Presbyterian minister in Tennesee from 1767 to 1812 (E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, Philadelphia, 1864; Sprague). This may have been BR's classmate.

Joseph Alexander, ? -1809, of the North Carolina family of that name, was graduated from Princeton with BR in 1760. He became pastor of Sugar Creek Church in North Carolina and founded the first classical school in that state. He soon removed to South Carolina, where he was very active in education and held pastorates in several places. During the Revolution he was an ardent patriot (Samuel Davis Alexander, *Princeton College During the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1872).

William Williams, ? -1804, was probably the son or grandson of John Williams, of Somerset Co., Md. He married Margaret Custis of Accomac Co., Virginia and settled on land known as Mt. Williams, near Assawoman, in that county. His will was probated Oct. 29, 1804 (personal communication, Mr. Ralph T. Whitelaw, Accomac). Dr. Willliams seems to have been a physician, but where he studied medicine is unknown.

John Archer, 1741-1810, of Churchville, Harford Co., Md., was graduated from Princeton with BR in 1760; studied with John Redman and took the degree Bachelor of Medicine at the Philadelphia medical school in 1768 (the first medical degree awarded after actual attendance at lectures, in this country). He practised medicine exposed to war and pestilence has not probably often occurred in any part of the world.

In the spring of 1759 and in the 15th year of my age, I was removed from Dr. Finley's School to the Jersey College,[27] where after an examination by two of the tutors I was admitted into the Junior Class. The pro tempore President of this College at that time was Revd. Jacob Green.[28] He was succeeded in the month of August by the Revd. Samuel Davies,[29] who had been elected some time before President of the College. This gentleman surmounted the disadvantages of scanty circumstances and a confined education by the strength and activity of a great and original genius. He was in most respects "Faber suae fortunae" that is, in the language of the world a "self made man." His reputation for classical literature, philosophy and oratory, was such as recommended him to the Trustees of the College many years before to undertake a mission to Great Britain to solicit contributions to build and endow the College. This mission was executed with success. From his intercourse when abroad with the most eminent Scholars and Divines among the dissenters, he enlarged his mind and became better qualified for the station he was now called to fill. He seemed to have been made for it. To a handsome person, he united the most elegant and commanding manners. He was truly dignified, but at the same time affable and even familiar in his intercourse with his pupils. He introduced several new subjects of instruction into the

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forty years in his native state and founded the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland. He was a member of Congress 1801-1807 (DAB). His house, "Medical Hall," is still standing near Bel Air, Md.

Thomas Ruston (date of birth unknown, d. 1804) went from Nottingham to Princeton and was graduated there in 1762. He took his M.D. at Edinburgh in 1765 (H. E. Hayden, "American Graduates in Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, to 1809," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Boston, 1887, XLI). Besides his graduation thesis on bilious fevers, he published *An Essay on Inoculation for the Smallpox*, London, 1767, which ran to three editions, and *A Collection of Facts on Yellow Fever*, Philadelphia, 1804. For the tale of his inheritance, bankruptcy, deterioration and death, as told by BR, see p. 314.

Ebenezer Hazard, 1744-1817, was graduated from Princeton in 1762. He was a member of the publishing firm of Noel and Hazard of New York City ca. 1769-1775, and was Postmaster General of the U.S. 1782-1789 (DAB). He was a scholarly historian, a pioneer in the collection of source materials for American history, his chief book being *Historical Collections*, Philadelphia, 1792, one of the first important works of American scholarship.

[27] i.e. the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University.

[28] Jacob Green, 1722-1790, Presbyterian minister, physician and man of affairs, acting president of the College of New Jersey, 1758-1759 (DAB).

[29] Samuel Davies, 1723-1761, Presbyterian minister renowned as a pulpit orator, president of the College of New Jersey 1759-1761 (DAB).

College, and gave to the old branches of education a new and popular complexion. It was my happy lot to attract a good deal of his attention. I discovered some talents for poetry, composition and public speaking, to each of which he was very partial. The facility with which I committed his lessons to memory, imposed upon him so far that he gave me credit for much more capacity than I possessed. Those who knew me at that time remember me only as an idle, playful, and I am sorry to add, sometimes a mischievous boy. While I lament that my improvements here, as at Dr. Finley's school, were by no means equal to my opportunities, I hope I shall be excused in acknowledging that his mode of teaching inspired me with a love of knowledge, and that if I derived but little from his instructions, I was taught by him how to acquire it in the subsequent periods of my life. I learned from him to record in a book which he called "Liber Selectorum" such passages in the Classicks as struck me most forcibly in reading them. By recording these passages, I was led afterwards to record facts and opinions. To this I owe perhaps in part the frequent use I have made of pen and ink. I have constantly associated them with every book I have read, sometimes by making extracts from them, but more frequently by making references to them in a common place book, or by making marks or indexes in them. This method of reading I know is condemned by some people, and memorandum books have been called by them the destruction of memories, but I have not observed this to be the case in myself, nor in some others who have adopted it in a greater extent than I have done. "Studium sine calamo somnium" was the saying of one of the ancient poets.[80] Recording facts has the usual effect of repetition. Instead of producing an oblivion of them, it imprints them more deeply in the memory.

In the month of September 1760 I was admitted to the degree of Batchelor of Arts. Before I left the College Mr. Davies asked me what profession I intended myself for. I told him I had been advised to study the law. He approved of the advice, and added that he "believed I should make a better figure at the bar, than in the walks of a hospital." This opinion fixed my determination, and my mother in consequence of it applied to a Lawyer in Philadelphia to take me into his office. Previously to my sitting down to study I was prevailed upon to accompany one of my old Schoolmates on a visit to his family in Somerset County in Maryland. On my way there and back again I stopped a few days at Dr. Finley's. Just before I took leave of him on my return home, he called me to the end of the piazza before his door, and asked me whether I had chosen a profession. I told him I had, and that I expected to begin the study of the law as soon as I returned to Philadelphia. He said the practice of the law was full of temptations and advised me by no means to think of it, but to study physic. "But before you determine on any thing (said he), set apart a day for fasting and prayer, and ask God to direct you in your choice of a profession." I am sorry to say I neglected the latter part of this excellent advice, but yielded to the former, and accordingly obtained from Mr. Davies, whom I saw soon afterwards in Philadelphia, a letter of recommendation to Dr. John Redman[31] to become his pupil.

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[80] The source of this quotation has not been located.

On what slight circumstances do our destinies in life seem to depend! All my friends objected to my choice. One of my classmates wrote me a long letter full of remonstrances against it, and reminded me of the credit I had acquired at the College as a public speaker. There were periods in my life in which I regretted the choice I had made of the profession of medicine, and once, after I was thirty years of age, I made preparations for beginning the study of the law. But providence overruled my intentions by an event to be mentioned hereafter. I now rejoice that I followed Dr. Finley's advice. I have seen the hand of heaven clearly in it. This fact is recorded to shew that our feelings sometimes mislead us, as well as our reason, and that we often regret having done or omitted doing things which time discovers to have been most for our interests, or for the benefit of our fellow creatures. I might have acquired more fortune and rank in life in the profession of the law, and probably have escaped much of the vexation and distress that are connected with the practice of medicine, but I am sure I have been more useful in the latter profession, and therefore acquiesce in my lot, and were I to chuse an employment again, a conviction of suffering all the persecution that has followed me for my opinions and practice would not alter my predilection for medicine.

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[31] John Redman, 1722-1808, M.D. Leyden, 1748, at that time the leading physician of Philadelphia; consulting physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital for twenty-nine years, a founder and the first president of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. He had among his pupils three subsequently distinguished men, Morgan, Wistar and Rush. In learning and character he was an excellent master for BR. Trained under the influence of Boerhaave (see Appendix I), he took up in later years the ideas of Cullen. (DAB; see also W. S. Middleton, "John Redman," *Annals of Medical History*, 1926, VIII, 213-223.)

III. *Medical Apprenticeship and Study Abroad*

In the month of February 1761 I began the study of medicine and continued constantly in my master's family and shop 'till July 1766. During this period I was absent from his business but eleven days, and never spent more than three evenings out of his house. My master at this time was in the most extensive business of any physician in the city, and as he had at no time more than two apprentices, he kept them constantly employed. In addition to preparing and compounding medicines, visiting the sick and performing many little offices of a nurse to them, I took the exclusive charge of his books and accompts. It may not be amiss to mention here that before I began the study of medicine, I had an uncommon aversion from seeing such sights as are connected with its practice. But a little time and habit soon wore away all that degree of sensibility which is painful, and enabled me to see and even assist with composure in performing the most severe operations in surgery. The confinement and restraint which now imposed upon me gave me no alternative but business and study, both of which became in a short time agreeable to me. I read in the intervals of my business and at late and early hours, all the books in medicine that were put into my hands by my master, or that I could borrow from other students of medicine in the city. I studied Dr. Boerhaave's lectures upon physiology and pathology with the closest attention, and abridged a considerable part of Van Swieten's commentaries upon his practical aphorisms. I kept a common place book in which I recorded every thing that I thought curious or valuable in my reading and in my master's practice. To him I am indebted for the estimation in which I have always held the works of Dr. Sydenham.[1] He put them into my hands soon after I went into his shop, and frequently alluded to his opinions and practice, particularly in the treatment of Epidemics. However laborious and self denied my situation was during my apprenticeship, I owe much to it. It produced in me habits of industry and business which have never left me. It rendered diseases in all

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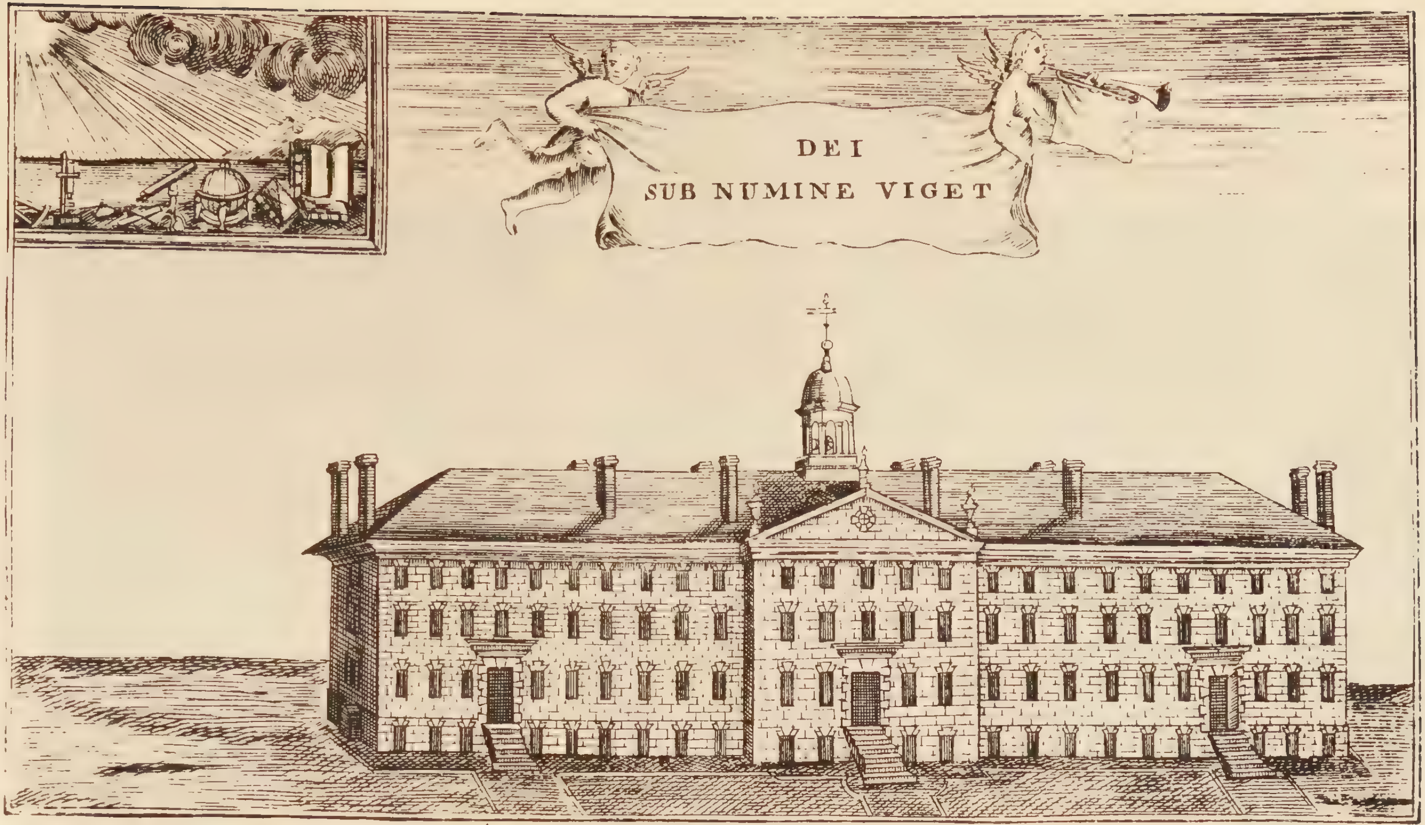
[1] These books BR studied while with Redman were the standard medical works of the period. He did not need his Latin to read them, for all were available in English. No doubt he used John Swain's edition of *The Whole Works of Thomas Sydenham*, 1749 and 1753. BR's devotion to Sydenham continued all his life. In 1809 he published his own edition with notes on the climate and diseases of the U.S., intended to make Sydenham's theories more readily applicable tc American conditions.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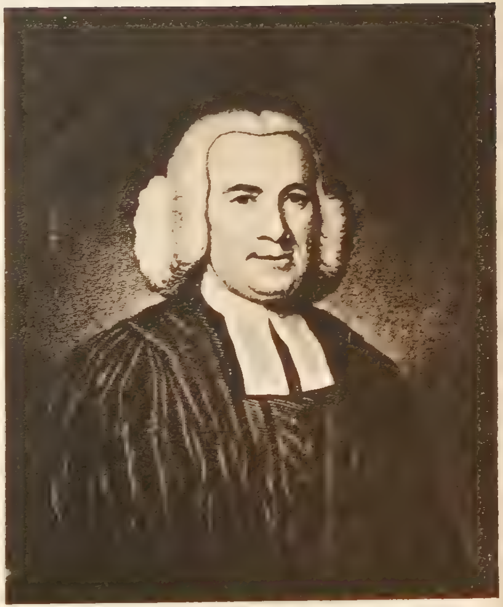
Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1760, the Year of Rush's Graduation



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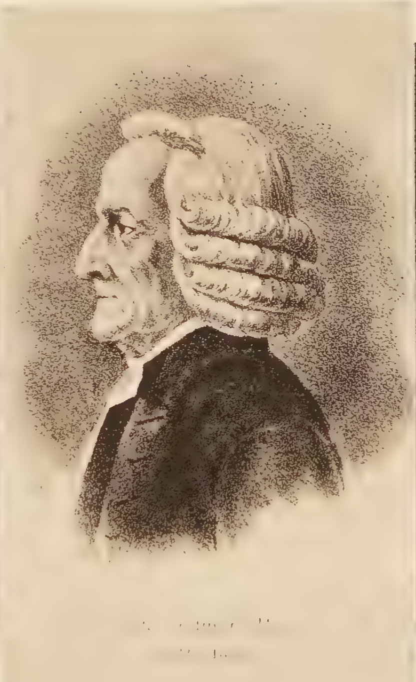
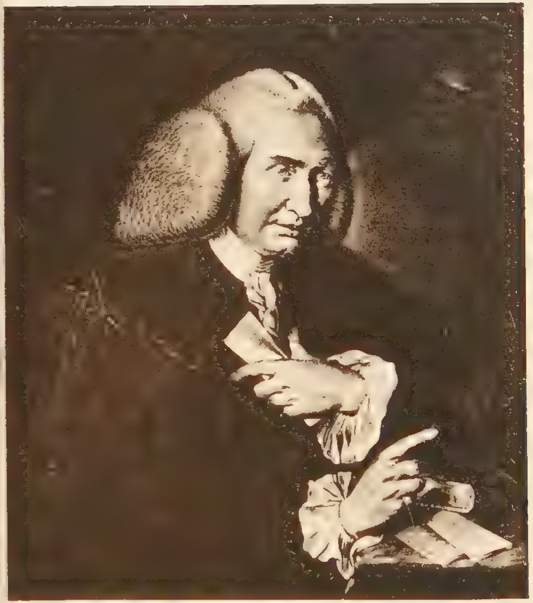


John Redman



William Cullen

Rush's Schoolmaster, Medical Preceptor, and Professor of Medicine their forms and symptoms familiar to me, and gave me a facility in knowing them which is to be acquired in no other way. During my residence in Dr. Redman's shop, he was one of the Physicians of the Pennsylvania hospital, by which means I was admitted to see the practice of five other physicians besides his own in the hospital. It was during this time likewise that the medical School of Philadelphia was founded by Dr. Shippen and Dr. Morgan.[2] I attended the lectures of the former on anatomy in 1762 and 1765, and of the latter on materia medica in the last of those years.

In the month of August 1766 I sailed for Liverpoole on board the ship Friendship, of which Capt. Pearse was Master, with a view of proceeding from thence to Edinburgh in order to prosecute my studies in medicine.[3] My fellow passengers were Jonathan Potts,[4] whose pursuits and place of destination were the same as mine, and a certain James Cummins, a young Scotch merchant whose fortune and health had been impaired in the West Indies, and who was on his way to his parents in the north of Scotland.[5] Our passage was stormy and dangerous. We were nearly lost on the coast of Ireland, and the next day narrowly escaped being wrecked at Holly head on the coast of Wales. I was a stranger to our danger in both instances 'till it was over, when the captain informed us of it by ascribing our safety, to use his own words, "to that Being whose tender mercies are over all his works." These expressions were not the only ones which were uttered by our Captain during our passage that indicated his reverence for his Maker and a belief in his providence. Every part of his conduct was moral, and his commands and conversation always free from swearing and profanity. He had been educated, he once informed me, by a pious mother.

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[2] William Shippen, the younger, 1736-1808, preceded BR at West Nottingham and Princeton; studied medicine with his father, anatomy with John Hunter and midwifery with William Hunter in London; M.D. Edinburgh, 1761. He began to lecture on anatomy in Philadelphia in 1762 and became the first professor of that subject in the University of Pennsylvania. Shippen was the first in America to lecture on midwifery. He succeeded Morgan as director-general of the military hospitals and physician-in-chief of the Continental army, 1777; was courtmartialed in August 1780 on charges of maladministration and financial corruption; acquitted, but resigned 1781 (DAB). For BR's characterization, see p. 322. It must be remembered, in reading this book, that BR had no place in his mind for any thought about Shippen except to cite his failings. Something of an antidote is provided in contemporary reminiscence, by the diary of Elizabeth Drinker, in which he appears as a skilled and kindly obstetrician (Cecil K. Drinker, *Not So Long Ago*, New York, 1937).

John Morgan, 1735-1789, attended West Nottingham Academy and Princeton; was an apprentice of Dr. John Redman; surgeon to the Pennsylvania troops in the French and Indian War; studied in London with the Hunters; M.D. Edinburgh, 1763. Morgan was the leader in founding the University of Pennsylvania medical school and its first professor of medicine. He was one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society. Morgan was appointed director-general of hospitals of the Continental army, 1775; was dismissed by Congress in 1777 after a conflict of authority with Shippen, but was afterward vindicated by Congress. As a result of this controversy and of heavy losses of property in the war, he ceased active practice and died a recluse in 1789, as narrated by BR later in this book (p. 180). (DAB; there is a good sketch of his life in *Doctors on Horseback*, by James T. Flexner, New York, 1937.)

[3] BR kept a journal of his journey to Great Britain and France. A portion of this record, amounting to about 15,000 words and covering the voyage and the stay in Edinburgh, is now in possession of the Indiana University library, which has generously permitted its use. The present editor is indebted to Mr. L. H. Butterfield for a transcript. The journal has been useful in supplying minor details omitted here, as will appear in the following footnotes.

[4] Jonathan Potts, 1745-1781, son of the founder of Pottstown, Pa. He accompanied BR to Edinburgh but returned shortly because of the illness of his fiancée, and completed his studies in Philadelphia. Potts practised at Reading, Pa. until the Revolution. He was appointed physician and surgeon to the army in northern New York, 1776, director-general of the hospitals of the northern department 1777, and of the middle department in succession to Shippen in 1781. He was notably successful as a military surgeon (DAB).

On my voyage I suffered much from seasickness. The only permanent relief I obtained was from Laudanum.

Two nights before we arrived in Liverpoole, Mr. Cummins awoke the Captain, Mr. Potts and myself with a cry of great distress. The Captain asked him what was the matter. To this he answered for a while only in groans and finally said he had been terrified by a dream, but refused to tell what it was. In the morning after I had retired from the breakfast table on the deck, he told the Captain and Mr. Potts that he did not chuse to tell his dream in the night least I should hear it, but that he imagined we had arrived in Liverpoole, that two days afterwards I had fallen from a horse, and was killed by a fracture of my skull, that I appeared to him after my death, and bid him prepare to follow me, for that he was to die in a few days. On the [21st][6] of October 1766 we arrived safely in Liverpoole, and were kindly entertained by several families to whom we had letters of introduction. Two days after our arrival we visited a large glass house. In coming out of it Mr. Cummins complained of being indisposed, and left us. In the evening when we returned to our lodgings, we found him abed and asleep. We all lay in one room, but in different beds. At 12 o'clock he awoke us with a noise like a person in convulsions. We called for candles, and flew to his relief. By opening a vein we checked his fits, and apparently restored him to his reason, but in spite of all that was done to recover him not only by ourselves but by one of the oldest physicians in the town whom we called to our assistance, he died the next evening. This was to us both a most afflicting event, for he became very dear to us by our fellowship in dangers. We shewed our respect for him by burying him at our own expense in a graveyard belonging to an Episcopal Church in the town. This expense was afterwards honourably reimbursed by his father.

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[5] The parents of James Cummins lived in the district of Buchan in Aberdeenshire (Indiana University ms.).

[6] Date supplied from Indiana University ms.

The day after his interment I went into a shop nearly opposite to our lodgings to pay for some of the articles of the last dress of our friend. The lady who attended it entered into conversation with me upon the melancholy subject of my errand to her shop. She inquired where I was going. I told her to Edinburgh. She told me she had a nephew there of the name of Jno. Bostock,[7] a student of medicine, to whom she politely offered me a letter and at the same time invited me to take tea with her in the afternoon. I accepted her invitation and was introduced by her to the mother of her nephew who was then in mourning, I believe for her husband. Their conversation was elegant and instructing. The death of Mr. Cummins gave it a serious cast. Mr. Bostock's aunt repeated an ode after tea which contained a most striking and highly poetical picture of the state of the body and mind in the last hours of life. I have in vain sought for this ode in collections of poetry. It was superior to Pompfret's much admired poem upon the same subject.[8] This short account of the manner in which I became acquainted with Mr. Bostock will be connected with an event which will form a considerable part of the history of my principles and conduct in a future period of my life.

I left Liverpoole on the—of October with my friend Mr. Potts and passed thro' Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland on our way to Edinburgh. At the tavern at Penrith in Cumberland where we lodged our Host spoke in high terms of his parish minister who he said often visited travellers who passed thro' the town. We expressed a desire to see him. Soon afterwards a venerable old gentleman was introduced to us. He sat down and conversed for about an hour during which time he discovered more knowledge, in the questions he asked, of our country than either of us possessed. He had never been out of England, nor far from home, and yet he appeared to be minutely acquainted with every thing that related to the countries of which he spoke. He made an apology for leaving us at an early hour by saying that it was Saturday night, and that he was obliged to prepare for the exercises of the ensuing day. His name was Bunkle.[9]

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[7] See p. 45, note 17.

[8] "A Prospect of Death, a Pindaric Essay" by John Pomfret, 1667-1702, in his *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1699 (accessible in Chalmers' *English Poets*, London, 1810, vol. 1). The ode read by Mr. Bostock's aunt, that BR thought superior to Pomfret's might have been Pope's "The Dying Christian to his Soul," but BR could scarcely have forgotten Pope's name nor have sought in vain for so famous a poem in later years. Perhaps what he heard was "A Thought of Death" by Thomas Flatman, 1637-1688, a vigorous short poem beginning "When in my sick bed I languish, full of sorrow, full of anguish" (in his *Poems and Songs*, London, 1674).

We arrived in Edinburgh about the 1st of November[10] and after fixing ourselves in lodgings, obtained tickets of admission to the different lectures. The Medical Professors at that time were Drs. Monroe, Cullen, Black, Gregory, and Hope.[11] I attended during this season the lectures in anatomy, chemistry, the institutes of medicine and natural philosophy, and the practice of the infirmary.

Finding myself less acquainted with classical and philosophical learning than was necessary to comprehend all that was taught in medicine, I employed the summer months in reviving my knowledge of the Latin language and in studying the mathematicks, under a private tutor, in each of which I advanced with a rapidity and pleasure I never had known before. It is because those branches of learning are taught too early in life, that they are so little relished, or so imperfectly understood by young men. During this summer and part of the autumn, I likewise made myself master of the French language, and acquired so much knowledge of the Italian and Spanish languages as to be able to read them. I was taught the French by a man of uncommon genius of the name of Coumans who strictly forbad me to commit a grammar rule to memory. He obliged me from the beginning to read and translate passages from a French book, and to write a French version every day. This I could not do without the help of a grammar. By referring to its rules, at the time I required their application, they adhered to memory without the least act of my will to imprint them there, so that at the end of one month, I could repeat them with great facility. I well recollect the triumph my master enjoyed over me in perceiving the success of his mode of teaching the principles of his language, for I had objected to it on the day I became his pupil.

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[9] This Mr. Bunkle remains unidentified. The Rev. Canon Trevor M. Jones, Vicar of Penrith, kindly searched the parish records and reports that Bunkle was not the vicar at the time of BR's visit and that his name does not appear in the records. If an Anglican, he may have been an itinerant priest; more likely he was a dissenter.

[10] According to BR's Edinburgh journal (Indiana University ms.) they arrived the night of November 3.

[11] The Edinburgh medical faculty was at this time the most celebrated in the world. William Cullen (1710-1790) an amiable and generous man of strong philosophical bent, had been professor of chemistry until the year of BR's arrival, when he was given the chair of the institutes of medicine (physiology). He was also a popular clinical lecturer, speaking in English instead of Latin, contrary to previous custom. His theory that life is an expression of nervous force had a great influence on BR's thinking (See Appendix 1).

Joseph Black (1728-1799) had just succeeded Cullen in the chair of chemistry.

John Gregory (1724-1773), physician and philosopher, taught the practice of medicine.

John Hope (1725-1786) taught botany and materia medica.

Alexander Monro, secundus (1733-1817), had taken over the chair of anatomy from his father in 1764.

For biographical data on all these professors see DNB. For a discussion of the Edinburgh school in its heyday see J. D. Comrie, *The History of Scottish Medicine to 1860, London*, 1927; F. R. Packard, "How London and Edinburgh Influenced Medicine in Philadelphia in the Eighteenth Century," *Annals of Medical History*, 1932, n.s. vol. 4, 219-244.

I taught myself the Italian and Spanish languages so as to be able to read them both to this day (July 2, 1800) with tolerable facility. The 2nd winter I spent in Edinburgh was employed in attending, in addition to the before mentioned lectures, those of Dr. Gregory on the practice of physic, and of Dr. Hope on the materia medica. On the [19th] of June 1768, I was admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine, after having undergone the usual examinations, and publickly defended a thesis on "the digestion of the food in the stomach."[12]

The two years I spent in Edinburgh I consider as the most important in their influence upon my character and conduct of any period of my life.

The public lectures and private conversations of the Professors not only gave me many new ideas, but opened my mind so to enable me to profit by reading and observation.

The easy and friendly intercourse which I kept up with my fellow students, was a constant source of excitement to my mind. Every meeting in the University and in the infirmary and every visit to and walk with them was productive of more or less knowledge upon some subject of taste or science. The students of medicine at that time were collected from several parts of the continent of Europe, as well as from every part of the British empire. Dr. Fabricius, Dr. Shunheyter, Dr. Tode of Copenhagen and Drs. De La Roche and Odier of Geneva (all celebrated names in the Republic of medicine) were my cotemporaries in the University.[13] So was Dr. John Brown, the ingenious author of the Brunonian system of physic.[14] The last of these gentlemen maintained himself and a young family while a student, by teaching the Latin language and translating English theses into Latin for those graduates who were unable to do it for themselves. He was at that time distinguished for his wit, and by some eccentricities of conduct. The native Americans who composed a part of my profitable acquaintances were the three Dr. Browns, Dr. McClurg, Dr. Jones, Dr. Steptoe and Dr. Blair, all of Virginia.[15] The last of those gentlemen stood very high in the opinion of his teachers, and of all his fellow students. Death deprived the world of the benefit of his laborious studies and extensive knowledge, soon after he settled in his native country. Drs. Fayseaux [Fayssoux], Tucker, Baron and Chandler of South Carolina, Dr. Reeder and Dr. Diggs of Maryland, and Dr. Robert of New York were likewise my friends and fellow students in the University.[16] Their names are still dear to me. Our friendships were warm and disinterested, for there was then no competition of interest to divide us. The original bond of union was our native country, a principle which always acts with most force when the subjects of our patriotism are limited, and when we are at a distance from home.

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[12] BR left the day of his graduation blank here, but it is given in his contemporary journal (Indiana University ms.). He states that the public defense of the thesis was part of the graduation ceremony; but according to the printed dissertation it took place on June 12 ("pridie Id. Junii").

The dissertation is a 30-page pamphlet, in Latin according to the custom of the time, entitled "*De Coctione Ciborum in Ventriculo.*" It is dedicated primarily to Benjamin Franklin, and secondarily to Joseph Black, John Redman, Shippen, Morgan, Jonathan (Bayard) Smith and Jacob Rush. In its contents it illustrates the groping of the medical chemists toward a chemical explanation of digestion. BR recounts three experiments done on himself and one on a friend, William Penny, in which they ate heartily and took a dose of alkali to neutralize any acid that might be present. Allowing a suitable time for digestion, they caused vomiting by taking tartar emetic. The gastric contents was tested for acid. The conclusion appears to be that gastric digestion is a chemical process akin to fermentation, not requiring the presence of an acid ferment for its initiation (as Van Helmont had thought) but accompanied by the evolution of acid.

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[13] Johann Christian Fabricius, 1743-1808, naturalist, professor at Copenhagen and later at Kiel (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1877).

Johann Henrich Schoenheyder, 1744-1831, of Copenhagen, studied at Leyden, Edinburgh, and Copenhagen (M.D. 1768) and became professor of medicine in his native city. He gained some reputation as a poet and as translator of Virgil, Milton, and Racine (Gurlt, *Biog. Lexikon d. hervorr. Aerzte aller Zeiten*, Leipzig, 1887).

Johann Clemens Tode, 1736-1808, teacher of medicine in the University of Copenhagen, court physician, poet and littérateur (*Allg. Deutsche Biographie*).

Daniel Delaroche, 1743-1813, born at Geneva, studied medicine at Leyden (M.D. 1766) and at Edinburgh; practised at Geneva and at Paris. He wrote on the nervous system under Cullen's influence, on puerperal fever, and on inoculation for smallpox (Deziemeris, *Dict. Hist. de la Médecine*, Paris, 1834).

Louis Odier, 1748-1817, of Geneva, took his M.D. at Edinburgh in 1770; he taught chemistry in his native city and was the first to introduce Jenner's discovery of vaccination into France and Switzerland (NBG).

[14] John Brown, 1735-1788, was an extra-mural tutor and lecturer on medicine. Although a man of disputatious character and dissolute habits, he was a thoughtful philosopher and a great favorite with the medical students (DNB). A former pupil of Cullen, he adopted theories of his own about the nature of life and of disease which were in opposition to Cullen's. The Brunonian system was widely adopted in Europe. For Brown's ideas, and for the relation of BR's system to his, see Appendix 1.

[15] These three Browns were undoubtedly the following, although two of them were actually not native Americans, and two of them later resided in Maryland, not Virginia: Gustavus Richard Brown, 1747-1804, of Port Tobacco, Md., physician and horticulturalist, M.D. Edinburgh, 1768 (Kelly-Burrage); Gustavus Brown,

I mentioned a little while ago the name of Mr. Bostock.[17] I

1744-1801, nephew of the foregoing, born in Scotland, settled in St. Mary's Co., Md.; William Brown, 1752-1792, brother of Gustavus and nephew of Gustavus Richard B., born in Scotland, M.D. Edinburgh 1770, settled in Alexandria, Va.; succeeded BR as physician-general of the middle department of the Continental army, 1778 (DAB).

James McClurg, 1746-1823, M.D. Edinburgh, 1770, practised at Williamsburg and Richmond, Va. (DAB).

Walter Jones, 1745-1815, M.D. Edinburgh, 1769, practised in Northumberland County, Va.; member of Congress 1797-1799, 1803-1811 (Kelly-Burrage).

George Steptoe, ? -1784, M.D. Edinburgh, 1767, practised at Windsor, Westmoreland County, Va. (W. B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century*, Richmond, 1931).

James Blair, 1741-1772, of Williamsburg, Va., was the grandnephew of Rev. James Blair (1655-1743), founder and president of William and Mary College, grandson of Dr. Archibald Blair, and son of John Blair (1687-1771), president of the council and acting governor of Virginia (*William and Mary College Historical Quarterly*, 1898-1899, VII, 133-134).

[16] Peter Fayssoux, 1745-1795, M.D. Edinburgh, 1769, of Charleston, S.C., a founder and first president of the Medical Society of South Carolina (DAB).

Harris Tucker, 1747-1821, of Charleston, S.C., M.D. Edinburgh, 1771; surgeon in the Revolutionary army; a founder of the Medical Society of the State of South Carolina (F. R. Packard, *History of Medicine in the United States*, Philadelphia, 1931).

Alexander Baron, 1745-1819, of Charleston (James Thatcher, *American Medical Biography*, Boston, 1828).

Isaac Chanler, d. 1802, of Charleston, took his Edinburgh M.D. degree in 1768. He was one of the founders of the South Carolina Medical Society and was its president in 1799 (personal communication, Dr. J. I. Waring, Charleston).

Reeder, Digges, and Robert did not take Edinburgh degrees. In 1800 BR had a medical correspondent named Thomas Reeder at Leonardtown, St. Mary's Co., Maryland, who wrote asking for advice about his own health (Rush mss.).

"Dr. Diggs" was probably Joseph Digges, son of Col. William Digges of Warburton Manor, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, opposite Mt. Vernon. He is mentioned in Washington's *Diaries* (ed. by J. C. Fitzpatrick, vol. 2, Boston, 1925) as a frequent visitor at Mt. Vernon. He is said to have served as a surgeon during the Revolution, and to have died on the island of Teneriffe (E. R. Ramsburg, "Sir Dudley Digges and the Digges Line in America," *D.A.R. Magazine*, 1923, LVII).

Presumably Daniel Robert; see DAB on Christopher R. Robert.

[17] John Bostock, 1740-1774, to whom BR was thus introduced by chance, took his M.D. at Edinburgh in 1769 and practised medicine with distinction at Liverpool during the rest of his short life. "To the witty agreeable companion he joined the man of science, integrity, benevolence and charity." (*A Medical History of Liverpool from the Earliest Days to the Year 1920*, from data collected by the late Thomas H. Bickerton, London, 1936.) Bostock's *father* could scarcely have served under Oliver Cromwell.

delivered the letter his aunt gave me in Liverpoole to him, and soon afterwards breakfasted with him. He was well informed upon all subjects, particularly upon history, geography and belles lettres. In the course of our acquaintance he informed me that his father commanded a company under Oliver Cromwell. I told him that my first American ancestor held the same rank in Cromwell's army. This was like a discovery of relationship between persons who had previously behaved as strangers to each other. He now opened his mind fully to me, and declared himself to be an advocate for the Republican principles for which our ancestors had fought. He spoke in raptures of the character of Sidney,[18] and said that he once got out of his carriage in passing by Sidney's country house, and spent several hours in walking in the wood in which he was accustomed to meditate when he composed his famous treatise upon government. Never before had I heard the authority of Kings called in question. I had been taught to consider them nearly as essential to political order as the Sun is to the order of our Solar System. For the first moment in my life I now exercised my reason upon the subject of government. I renounced the prejudices of my education upon it; and from that time to the present all my reading, observations and reflexions have tended more and more to shew the absurdity of hereditary power, and to prove that no form of government can be rational but that which is derived from the Suffrages of the people who are the subjects of it.[19]

This great and active truth became a ferment in my mind. I now suspected error in every thing I had been taught, or believed, and as far as I was able began to try the foundations of my opinions upon many other subjects. The sequel of my scepticism and investigations will appear hereafter. It has been said that there is no such thing as a solitary error in the human mind. The same may be said of truths. They are all related, and delight in Society. I shall only add in this place, that the change produced in my political principles by my friend Bostock had no effect upon my conversation or conduct. I considered the ancient order of things with respect to government as fixed and perpetual, and I enjoyed in theory only the new and elevating system of government I had adopted.

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[18] Algernon Sidney, 1622-1683, political rebel holding republican views, was executed for treason against Charles II. He wrote *Discourses Concerning Government*, London, 1698 (DNB).

[19] Mr. L. H. Butterfield suggests that BR has exaggerated the suddenness of his conversion to republicanism; his early letters to Ebenezer Hazard show that he was already an ardent opponent of the Stamp Act.

In addition to the medical Society I have mentioned, I had the pleasure of being domesticated in several very amiable private families in Edinburgh. Some of them were persons of rank, but they were all distinguished more or less for learning, taste, or piety. The Revd. Dr. Erskine[20] honoured me with many acts of attention and friendship. His heart resembled the ancient altar among the Jews. The fire of Christian love burned upon it with a perpetual blaze. It was my peculiar happiness likewise to be known to the celebrated preacher Mr. Walker.[21] The character of this excellent man was once summed up in the following lines.

"On Walker's lips persuasion dwells,
But his life, his eloquence excels."

I attended his church constantly during my residence in Edinburgh. His printed Sermons have commanded general admiration, but the best of them are inferior to many that I have heard delivered by him. Nor let me forget to mention here the families of Mr. Wm. and Thomas Hogg,[22] Bankers of Edinburgh, from whom I received many civilities, and whose memories have ever since been dear to me. The daughters of the former, and the wife of the latter, were women of charming manners and great mental accomplishments. In the

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[20] John Erskine, D.D., 1721?-1803, an evangelical divine, was on intimate terms with many American ministers, especially Jonathan Edwards. His preaching at Old Greyfriars church is described by Scott in *Guy Mannering* (DNB).

[21] Robert Walker, 1716-1783, was associate minister with the celebrated preacher Hugh Blair, of the High Church, Edinburgh, 1754-1783. (Robert Walker, *Sermons on Practical Subjects, to which is Prefixed a Character of the Author* by Hugh Blair, D.D., Edinburgh, 1784.) "The more zealous and evangelical attended Mr. Walker's preaching in the afternoon; the more worldly and fashionable delighted in Dr. Blair at the morning service" (Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, Philadelphia, 2nd ed. 1861). "It was said by the beadle that it took twenty-four of Walker's hearers to equal one of Blair's, but then the beadle was measuring everything by the heap on the plate" (*Book of Edinburgh Anecdote*, by Francis Watt, Edinburgh, 1912).

[22] Something more than is told here about these acquaintances of BR can be put together from passages in his contemporary journal (Indiana University ms.) and letters, and from notes supplied by the Scots Ancestry Research Council, Edinburgh.

William Hogg died early in 1767, at the age of 72. BR attended his funeral Jan. 7.

Thomas Hogg, ? -1784, inherited his father's banking business, which was located in Kinloch's Close. He had married in 1757, Colin or Colina Campbell, a niece of the Countess of Leven.

The eldest of Thomas Hogg's sisters was Anne, a learned spinster; another was married to a rich and charitable gentleman, Robert Scott-Moncrieff; a third (Mary) to a Mr. Ennis, a country minister, and the youngest, whom BR calls Betty, was then engaged to a young banker.

John Caw, a wealthy bachelor, was appointed first secretary of the Excise Office about 1764. In a letter to Thomas Bradford, Feb. 12, 1767 (Haverford College Library; LHB, *Rush Letters*) BR requested Bradford to collect and send to Caw house of Mr. Jno. Caw, an officer in the excise, I always met with a hearty welcome. He was a man of uncommon worth, and never failed of pleasing in company by well applied anecdotes and stories, of which he possessed a fund that I have not known exceeded by any man. I boarded in the house of two maiden ladies of the name of Galloway, to whose goodness I feel myself bound to record a tribute of respect. They had a brother, a merchant in Edinburgh, who was worthy of them. In piety they seemed to resemble the happy family that was honoured with the friendship of the Saviour of the world. Mr. Galloway was a man of good education, and of great general knowledge. He was to me a living Dictionary. I do not recollect that I ever asked him a question upon any literary or philosophical subject that he did not answer to my satisfaction. In several of the families that I have named, I met occasionally an old Highlander of plain manners of the name of Dougal Buchannan[23] who was employed to superintend the printing of a translation of the Bible into the Erse language. This man possessed an original mind. He had read and thought upon many subjects. I soon found that an acquaintance with him would be profitable, and therefore invited him to visit me. He frequently amused me with curious facts in natural history. One day after attending Dr. Monroe's lecture upon the hand, he told me that he had been kept awake the whole succeeding night in admiring the manner in which the opening and shutting the hand are performed by means of the perforans and perforatus tendons. He saw the goodness and wisdom of the Creator in everything. He spoke good English, but he once told me that he always prayed and dreamed in his native language. In one of his fingers he had a disease similar to that which takes place in a decayed tooth when the nerve is bare. Such was its morbid sensibility that the least touch of it gave him pain, and to avoid this he generally carried the hand to which this finger belonged in his coat pocket. He had a very singular respect for the memory of his father, who died when he was a boy. So dear was he

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"as many of our American curiosities as you can" for "a good friend I have here, who places his only happiness in exploring the curious and wonderful productions of nature . . . the gentleman is very rich and would willingly sacrifice an estate in enriching his museum."

William Galloway was a merchant in New North Parish. His wife, who had a considerable fortune, was Jean, daughter of Alexander Arbuthnot, baillie of Edinburgh.

[23] Dugald Buchanan, 1716-1768, schoolmaster, scholar, and poet, assisted James Stewart of Killin in translating the New Testament into Gaelic. The infection on his finger sounds ominous, and in fact he died before BR left Edinburgh (DNB).

to him that he never went to bed for seven years after his death without thinking of him. He had read several of the English poets, and particularly Young, Milton and Shakespear. His feelings were in unison with every thing that was sublime in the productions of nature or art. He one day called to do some business with a gentleman in Edinburgh. He found him reading those lines under a bust of Shakespear in which he describes the destruction of our globe by fire. "There (said the gentleman) did you ever read anything so sublime as those lines before?" "Yes (said the pious philosopher), I did. I have a book at home in which there is a much more sublime passage. The words are 'And I saw a great white throne, and *him* that sat on it, from whose face, the heavens and the earth fled away, and there was found no place for them.'" The gentleman acknowledged the truth of the remark, and said he had never seen the sublimity of that passage in the Bible before.[24]

In my intercourse with company in Edinburgh I once met David Hume; it was at the table of Sir Alexander Dick.[25] He was civil in his manners and had no affectation of singularity about him. Sir Alexander once referred to him for a fact in the history of England. Mr. Hume could not satisfy him. "Why, said Sir Alexander, you have mentioned it in your history." "That may be (said Mr. Hume), there are many things there which I have forgotten as well as yourself."

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[24] The Rev. A. Sinclair, in *Reminiscences of the Life and Labours of Dugald Buchanan*, Edinburgh, 1885, tells the same story and says that David Hume was the gentleman with whom the conversation took place. The lines Hume quoted were from *The Tempest*, IV, i, 152,

"The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind."

Sinclair improves upon the story by saying that when Buchanan quoted the passage from the Bible (Revelation, XX, 11-13), Hume acquiesced in Buchanan's estimate of its sublimity and asked who the author was.

[25] David Hume, 1711-1776, the celebrated philosopher.

Sir Alexander Dick, 1705-1785, a prominent and wealthy physician (DNB), "whose amiable character and ingenious and cultivated mind are so generally known" (*Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, edited by Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, New York, 1936).

BR's list of the Edinburgh personages whose acquaintance he made includes many of those who entertained or met Samuel Johnson during his famous visit on the way to the Hebrides a few years later, a fact which attests the social acceptance of the young American.

I met the celebrated historian Dr. Robertson[26] at the table of Dr. Gregory. He was polite and entertaining in conversation. Before we sat down to dinner Dr. Gregory said grace. Upon recollecting that Dr. Robertson, a clergyman, was present, he asked his pardon for having been his own chaplain. The Doctor told him a Lord of Session had once acted in the same capacity at his table in the presence of his father, who was likewise a clergyman. After he had finished his grace he looked round and saw Mr. Robertson. "Why (said he), I believe the Devil is in me, only think of my saying grace in the presence of a clergyman." "No, my Lord, said my father, it is a sign the Devil is not in you, or you would not have said grace."

I was frequently made happy by the company of the blind poet Dr. Blacklock.[27] He was a man of pleasant manners, and well acquainted with all the common subjects of literary conversation.

It was while I was in Edinburgh that the Revd. Dr. Witherspoon[28] of Paisley in Scotland was elected president of the College of New Jersey. Mr. Richd. Stockton,[29] one of the trustees of the College, who was at that time in London, was appointed to present to the Doctor the minute of his election. This was done in Edinburgh where the Doctor met Mr. Stockton. In consequence of the Doctor's wife's unwillingness to leave her native country he declined the invitation. The summer afterwards I visited the Doctor at Paisley and spent several agreeable days in his family. In the course of our conversation I lamented often in the presence of his wife his not accepting of the charge of the Jersey College, and obviated such of the objections as she had formerly made to crossing the ocean. An account of her change of mind was immediately transmitted to the trustees of the College, who reelected him. The Doctor with his family soon afterwards embarked for America. The College flourished under him for many years. He gave a new turn to education, and spread taste and correctness in literature throughout the United States. It was easy to distinguish his pupils every where when ever they spoke or wrote for the public. He was a man of a great and luminous mind. He seemed to arrive at truth intuitively. He made use of his reasoning powers only to communicate it to others. His works will probably preserve his name to the end of time.

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[26] William Robertson, D.D., 1721-1793, joint minister, with John Erskine, of Old Greyfriars church and at the time of BR's stay principal of the University of Edinburgh. He was author of *History of Scotland*, London, 1759, and other learned and successful historical works (DNB).

[27] Thomas Blacklock, D.D., 1721-1793, poet and scholar (DNB).

[28] John Witherspoon, D.D., 1723-1794, pastor at Paisley 1757, president of the College of New Jersey 1768. Austere on moral questions, he was liberal in ecclesiastical and political matters and had great influence on education and on the growth of the Presbyterian church in the U.S. He took an early part in the Revolutionary movement. An influential member of Congress 1776-1782, signer of the Declaration of Independence (DAB). For BR's characterization see p. 147. Witherspoon's side of the correspondence between BR and himself during negotiations over the presidency of Princeton College in 1767-1768 has recently come to light and is now in Princeton University Library. The few surviving letters on BR's side (at the New Jersey Historical Society) will be printed in LHB, *Rush Letters*.

[29] Richard Stockton, 1730-1781, lawyer and judge. Practised at Newark, N.J.; patron and trustee of the College of New Jersey, instrumental in moving it to Princeton; owner of "Morven," in Princeton; member of Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence. He suffered heavily in health and fortune through the Revolution. BR married his daughter (DAB). See p. 147 for BR's opinion of him.

I remained in Edinburgh after the time of my graduating during the summer for the sake of attending a private course of lectures upon the practice of Physic. I made a short excursion during this time to the country seat of the Earl of Leven,[30] to whose family I had been introduced by Mr. Thomas Hogg. Here I beheld noble manners united with a public profession of religion. Order, virtue, innocence and friendship reigned throughout every department of the family. The neighbourhood was composed of his Lordship's tenants, several of whom I visited. They seemed happy. One of them I recollect sat down one evening by invitation in his working dress, and supped with his Lordship's family.

I received from Lord Balgony[31] after I parted with him a gold ring which contained in a small circle about the size of a dime every word and letter of the Lord's Prayer. On the inside of the ring were engraved the day of the month and year on which I left the family seat at Melville.

During my residence in Edinburgh I was often struck in observing the moral order which prevailed among all classes of people. Silence pervaded the streets of that great city after 10 o'clock at night. The churches were filled on Sundays. I never saw a pack of cards in either a public or private house. Dancing supplied the place of silence or insipid conversation in all large evening companies. Swearing was rarely heard in genteel life, and drunkenness was rarely seen among the common people. Instances of fraud were scarcely known among Servants. But integrity descended still lower among the humble ranks of life. I once saw the following advertisement pasted up at the door of the play house, "The gentleman who gave the orange woman a guinea instead of a penny last night is requested to call at the check office for it." This universal morality was not accidental. It was the effect of the parochial instructions of the clergy, who were at that time a regular and conscientious body of men. I have heard with pain that a great change for the worse has taken place in the morals and manners of the inhabitants of that once happy city. Nor was I surprised at it when I heard that the works of several of the most popular writers against Christianity were to be met with in the hands of journeymen mechanics of all descriptions.

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[30] David, 6th Earl of Leven, 5th Earl of Melville, 1722-1802. An active member of the Church of Scotland, Lord High Commissioner of the Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel, 1778. His Countess, Wilhelmina, was also active in religious work; she is said to have been converted by Whitefield and to have been associated with the Countess of Huntington's connection (Sir William Fraser, *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville and the Leslies, Earls of Leven*, Edinburgh, 1890). BR was introduced to Lord Leven by the Countess's niece, Mrs. Thomas Hogg. Their seat where he visited them was Melville House, in Fifeshire, built about 1692 by the first Earl Melville. (*The Leven and Melville Papers*, ed. by Hon. W. H. Leslie Melville for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1843; Indiana University ms.)

[31] Alexander Leslie-Melville, 1749-1820, styled Lord Balgonie until 1802, when he succeeded his father in the earldoms of Leven and Melville. His career was inconspicuous. Letters from a Mr. Alexander Belsches to Lord Balgonie, printed in the *Leven and Melville Papers*, show that BR had become a close friend of the Earl's eldest son. For a pathetic sequel to this friendship, see p. 129 below.

I left Edinburgh on the — of September 1768[32] and travelled rapidly with two companions to London by land. The country through which we rode was highly cultivated and beautiful. I arrived in London the latter end of September, and took lodgings at a Mr. Speakman's in the Strand. Finding this situation too remote from the hospitals and lectures I proposed to attend, I removed in a few days to the house of a widow Jeffries in the Hay Market, where I remained all the while I was in London.

I attended the lectures and dissections of Dr. Wm. Hunter[33] and Mr. Hewson[34] in London. It was while I was dissecting a body by his side that Mr. Hewson succeeded in an experiment which proved the existence of lymphatic vessels in Fishes.[35] I attended for a while the Middlesex hospital but followed Dr. Huck[36] to St. Thomas's after his removal to that hospital. Dr. Hunter's lectures were entertaining as well as instructing. In St. Thomas's hospital I saw an immense variety of diseases and of practice. Dr. Akenside[37] the poet was one of the attending physicians. He was distant and formal in his behaviour to the Students. Dr. Huck was the reverse of this. He was communicative and friendly. I owe much to him for many civilities. He introduced me to Sir John Pringle,[38] by whom I was invited to attend a medical conversation party held once a week at his house. I attended a similar meeting of Physicians at the Doctor's own house on another evening of the week, and often dined with him in large and highly polished companies. He lived in or very near the same house in which O. Cromwell had once lived. The Doctor had acquired knowledge, reputation and powerful connections by having served many years

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[32] BR to John Morgan, July 27, 1768: "The happiest part of my life is now over. My Halcyon days have been spent in Edinburgh" (letter in the Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia). He never ceased to cherish the memory of his Edinburgh days. See a letter to James Rush, March 19, 1810, cited by L. H. Butterfield, "Benjamin Rush: A Physician as Seen in his Letters," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1946, xx, 144. The departure was probably on September 19; see BR to David Leslie, Sept. 18, 1768 (Rush mss.).

[33] William Hunter, 1718-1783, celebrated Scottish anatomist, surgeon and obstetrician in London. With his even more famous brother John Hunter (1728-1793) he conducted a school of anatomy in Great Windmill Street, where many of the best British surgeons of the period were trained (DNB).

For the medical side of London at this time, see Arnold Chaplin, *Medicine in London during the Reign of George III*, London, 1919.

[34] William Hewson, 1739-1774, a brilliant anatomist and surgeon in London, pupil of the Hunters and for a time partner of William Hunter. He married Benjamin

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Franklin's great friend Polly Stevenson, daughter of Franklin's landlady, and resided for three years in the same house with Franklin. After his untimely death from an infected dissection wound, Polly Hewson emigrated with her children to Philadelphia (Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1938). See DNB for the details of Hewson's career.

[35] The experiment witnessed by BR was one of great significance. The Hunters maintained that the lymphatic vessels take an active part in the absorption of fluids from the tissues and cavities of the body and of foodstuffs from the intestine; indeed they went too far by insisting that the lymphatics are the only absorbing vessels. The great Swiss physiologist Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777) attempted to refute this view by asserting that animals other than mammals have no lymphatic vessels. Hewson, by skillful technical methods, demonstrated the presence of lymphatics in a reptile (turtle) in 1763 or 1764, but did not succeed with birds and fish until 1768. In a postscript to his "Account of the Lymphatic System in Birds," (*Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. London*, vol. 58, 1768) he says that since that paper was put into the hands of the secretary of the Royal Society he had finally demonstrated the same system in fish. This would date the observations between Oct. 3 and Dec. 3, 1768. The observations on fish were reported in full in *Phil. Trans.*, vol. 59, 1769.

Hewson's book summarizing all his work on the lymphatic system, *Experimental Inquiries, Part the Second, Containing a Description of the Lymphatic System in the Human Subject and other Animals*, London, 1774, is dedicated to Benjamin Franklin.

[36] Richard Huck Saunders, 1727-1787, was physician to Middlesex Hospital 1766-1768, and to St. Thomas's 1768-1777 (DNB). BR in this sketch has covered all there is to say about his career.

[37] Mark Akenside, 1721-1770, poet and physician, author of *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 1744. He was principal physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, and one of the physicians to Queen Charlotte. His coldness to the students, mentioned here, was exceeded by his roughness and cruelty to the poor patients (DNB). "The most supercilious and unfeeling physician that I had then, or have since known" (John Coakley Lettsom, *Ms. Autobiography*, quoted by J. Johnston Abraham, *Lettsom, His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants*, London, 1933).

[38] Sir John Pringle, 1707-1782, the founder of modern military medicine, was surgeon-general to the British army 1742-1758; he had great influence in scientific circles and was president of the Royal Society, 1772 (DNB).

in the British army in America and the West Indies during the war which ended in 1763. He had been well educated, and had visited all the celebrated Universities and hospitals in Europe. With all these advantages to beget confidence, he was so modest that he seldom spoke even at his own table without blushing. He was polite, correct, and just in his intercourse with the world. In his politicks he was a high toned Royalist, and never discovered any irritability of temper, except when he spoke against the claims of America, or the conduct of the opposition to the British Court. He once justified bribery in the British ministers to obtain a majority in the House of Commons, by saying "it was necessary to bribe the rascals in order to make them honest." He repeatedly said the happiest people he had seen in his travels were those who enjoyed the least liberty. He was a batchelor at the time I knew him. Soon afterwards he married the daughter of Admiral Saunders, by whom he got a large estate, in consequence of which he added Saunders to his name.

Sir John Pringle was between 60 and 70 years of age. He was then the favorite physician of the Queen and royal family. No relaxation appeared, Dr. Franklin (who was his intimate friend) informed me, in his exertions to obtain knowledge. He read and wrote as much as when he was a young man. I well recollect the number and nature of the questions he asked me the first time I was introduced to him. I met Dr. Garthshore, Dr. Knight, Dr. Fordyce,[39] and several other respectable members of the medical profession at his house, from each of whom I always heard something that was capable of being applied to practical and useful purposes.

By means of letters from Philadelphia I was introduced to the celebrated Dr. John Fothergill.[40] He gave me a general invitation

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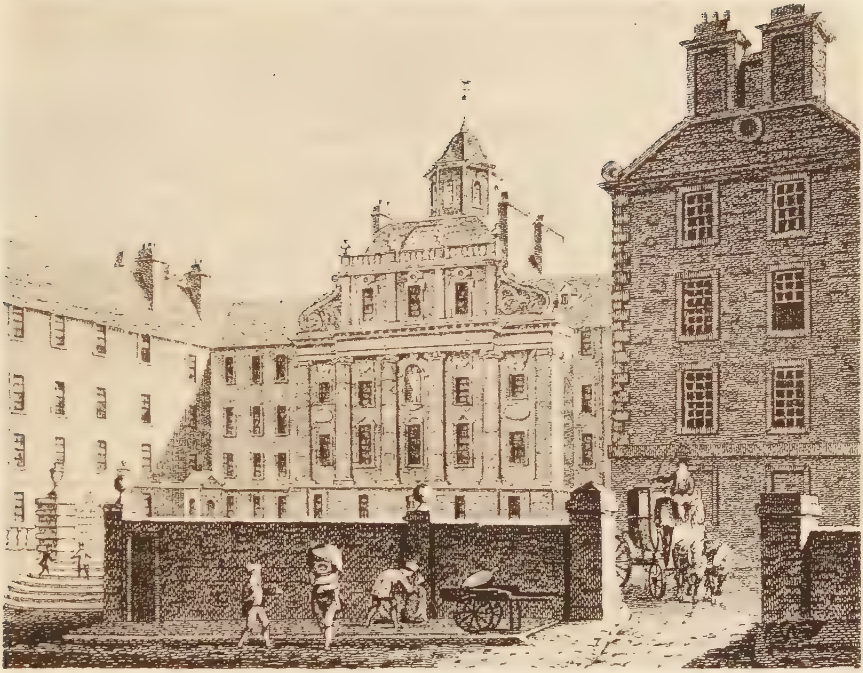
[39] Maxwell Garthshore, 1732-1812, a prominent accoucheur (DNB).

Gowin Knight, 1713-1772, physician and physicist, principal librarian of the British Museum (DNB).

George Fordyce, 1736-1802, a physician, active teacher of medicine and chemistry. He was a member of Dr. Samuel Johnson's Literary Club (DNB).

[40] John Fothergill, 1712-1780, distinguished Quaker physician, had many ties with Pennsylvania. His father visited America three times as a Quaker missionary. Dr. Fothergill was a friend of Franklin and was always ready to befriend visiting Americans, especially young medical men. He had cordially received Wm. Shippen, junior, and John Morgan a few years before Rush's visit, and generously promoted the hopes of all three with regard to the medical school in Philadelphia. Fothergill was elected member of the American Philosophical Society in 1770. For his great services to the American Colonies see DNB and especially R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends*, London, 1919.

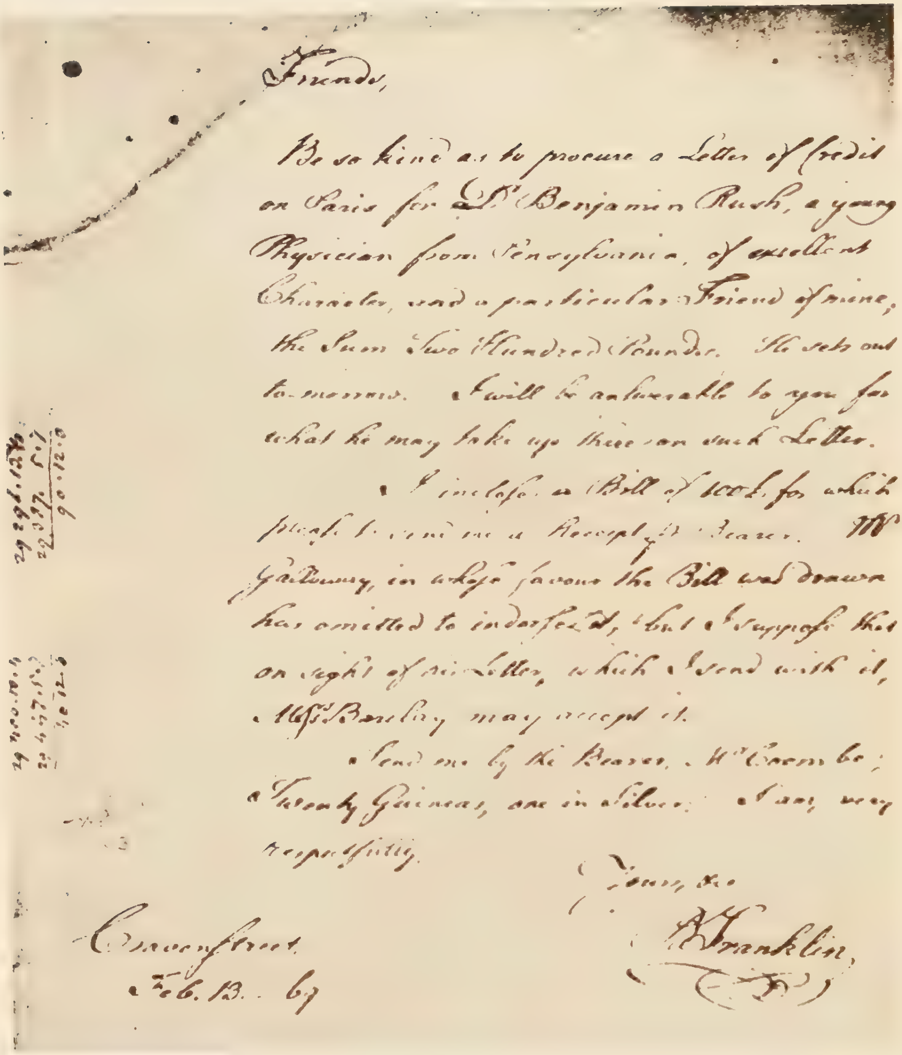
"He (Fothergill) often spoke to me of young Benjamin Rush with approbation; for he only knew him when a student. He said he sometimes attempted to moderate



Royal Infirmary

Melville House

Scenes of Study and Relaxation in Scotland, 1767-1769



to breakfast with him, when ever it suited me. I thankfully availed myself of this kind offer, and visited him once a week at 8 o'clock in the morning. At 9 he always went out. The time between these hours was always spent agreeably and profitably in his company. His sister who was a woman of good sense and great worth, added to the pleasure and instruction of his table. His subjects of conversation were always philanthropic, and his manner in discussing them was animated, but methodical. He often spoke with horror of war, and lamented the prevailing custom of the English and French nations considering each other as "natural enemies." With the strictest conformity to the phraseology and manners of the people called Quakers, he was a perfectly well bred gentleman.[41]

Dr. Franklin acted while I was in London as agent to several of the then American Colonies. It was my peculiar happiness to be domesticated in his family. He introduced me to a number of his literary friends. He once took me to Court with him and pointed out to me many of the most distinguished public characters of the nation. I never visited him without learning something. I shall mention a proof of his kindness to me in another place.

I had been introduced to the Revd. Mr. Whitefield[42] when a boy in America. I saw him occasionally in Edinburgh and visited him frequently in London. In my first visit to him at his house adjoining his church in Tottenham Court road, he took me to one of the windows of the room where we sat, and pointing to several small houses, said "There are my life guards. In those houses I maintain twelve poor widows and their prayers help to keep me alive." In

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the sanguine temperament of the young American, but too ardent a politician. But he never ceased to esteem him." (Letter from Benjamin Waterhouse to Joseph Willard, August 20, 1822, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1909-1910, XLIII, 644-645.)

[41] It is odd that BR did not mention having met at Fothergill's house another great Quaker physician, John Coakley Lettsom, 1744-1815, with whom he was to keep up a correspondence, interrupted only by two wars, until the end of his life (J. Johnston Abraham, *Lettsom*, London, 1933). In 1815 Lettsom published a little eulogy of BR entitled *Recollections of Dr. Rush* (London).

[42] George Whitefield, 1714-1770, evangelical minister, one of the greatest preachers of modern times. He first visited America as a representative of Wesleyan Methodism but later, on account of doctrinal differences, Whitefield being a Calvinist, he worked independently of Wesley (DNB). BR's first introduction to him may have been in July or August, 1754, when Whitefield was in Philadelphia and vicinity. BR's uncle by marriage and schoolmaster, Rev. Samuel Finley, was the leader of the Whitefieldian "New Light" wing of the Presbyterians in the Nottingham region. In a letter to Ebenezer Hazard, May 21, 1765 (Rush mss.) BR gave a long and enthusiastic account of a sermon he had heard Whitefield preach.

one of my evening visits to him, he left me for a few minutes to read the burial service over one of his parishioners. The grave in which he was interred was near his dwelling house. I stepped to the window which overlooked the company that attended the funeral. It was after night. No object appeared to my sight but Mr. Whitefield clad in the white surplice of his church. After reading the service in a manner peculiarly affecting, he delivered a short address to the company that surrounded the grave in which I well recollect the following words. "Be not discouraged by the frowns and persecutions of the world. Your heavenly Father is not unmindful of your sufferings. When St. Stephen was stoned, all heaven was in an uproar. The Son of God himself is moved at the sight. He cannot sit still. He rises from his throne, and stands ready to receive the holy protomartyr into his arms."

In breakfasting with him I was much struck with the inscriptions in the bottom of his cups and saucers. They consisted of verses extracted from the Bible, all of which were expressive of the resemblances of water or food to the blessings of the Gospel. In my cup was the following verse "With joy will we draw water out of the wells of salvation"[43] and in my saucer the following "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come [ye to the waters."][44]

After breakfast he conducted me thro' a private walk into the pulpit of his church, through which we descended into the church. At the foot of the pulpit he pointed to a tombstone under which his wife had been buried the summer before. "There (said he) on that cold marble, I spend from four to five o'clock every morning upon my knees." He afterwards shewed me a monument which he erected in honor of his wife on the wall of the church. It contained her name, age, and character.

Were I to record all the original, pious and eloquent sayings of this great man during my visits to him a volume would not contain them. I have always thought it a peculiar happiness to have known him. He and Mr. Westley[45] constituted the two largest and brightest orbs that appeared in the hemisphere of the Church in the 18th Century. Probably they were exceeded only by the apostles in zeal and usefulness. I was not acquainted with Mr. Westley, but I twice heard him preach in Edinburgh. He was more learned, but less eloquent than Mr. Whitefield. The latter exhibited every thing in his voice, countenance and action in preaching that can be conceived necessary to constitute perfect oratory.[46]

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[43] Isaiah XII, 3.

[44] Isaiah LV, 1. BR's memory failed him when writing, and he left a space to be filled later.

[45] John Wesley, 1703-1791, leader of the Methodist revival and founder of the Wesleyan Methodist Churches.

In the Episcopal church I occasionally heard the Revd. Mr. Romaine, Mr. Madan and the afterwards unfortunate Dr. Dodd.[47] They were all good preachers. Among the dissenters I heard Dr. Gibbons, Dr. Conder, Dr. Brawton and Dr. Fordyce.[48] The last of those gentlemen was distinguished for the extravagance and art of his oratory, but his sermons were always serious and instructing. Dr. Gibbons was my acquaintance. He had been the friend and correspondent of my preceptor at the Jersey College, Mr. Davies. He shewed me a large bundle of his letters. He shewed me likewise many letters he had received from Dr. Doddridge,[49] and a Greek testament that had belonged to Dr. Watts in which were many notes written with the Doctor's own hand.

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[46] "We talked of Whitefield. He [Johnson] said he was at the same college with him and knew him 'before he began to be better than other people (smiling), that he believed he sincerely meant well, but had a mixture of politics and ostentation, whereas Wesley thought of religion only.' Robertson said Whitefield had strong natural eloquence, which, if cultivated, would have done great things. JOHNSON. 'Why, sir, I take it he was at the height of what his abilities could do, and was sensible of it. He had the ordinary advantages of education, but he chose to pursue that oratory which is for the mob.' BOSWELL. 'He had a great effect on the passions.' JOHNSON. 'Why, sir, I don't think so. He could not represent a succession of pathetic images. He vociferated and made an impression. *There*, again, was a mind like a hammer.'" (*Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. F. A. Pottle and C. H. Bennett, New York, 1936, p. 20.)

[47] William Romaine, 1714-1795, an evangelical Anglican divine whose adherence to Whitefield's views caused him a stormy career. At the time BR heard him he was rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, with St. Andrew of the Wardrobe (DNB).

Martin Madan, 1726-1790, Anglican clergyman (a cousin of William Cowper), chaplain to the Lock Hospital, London; an adherent of the Countess of Huntington's Calvinistic Methodist movement (DNB).

William Dodd, D.D., 1729-1777, a popular Anglican preacher, prebendary of Brecon and chaplain in ordinary to George III. In 1777 he was executed at Tyburn for forging the name of his patron, Lord Chesterfield, to a bond for £4000 (DNB). Dr. Samuel Johnson's efforts to save him are recounted in Boswell's *Life*. Horace Walpole praised his preaching (*Correspondence with George Montagu*, ed. by W. S. Lewis and R. S. Brown, Jr., New Haven, 1941).

[48] Thomas Gibbons, D.D., 1720-1785, dissenting minister and teacher. BR no doubt heard him on a Sunday evening at the Monkwell Street meeting house (DNB).

John Conder, D.D., 1714-1781, pastor of Little Moorfields Chapel (DNB).

"Dr. Brawton" was presumably Thomas Broughton, 1712-1777, a methodistical Anglican clergyman, secretary to the Society for Christian Knowledge and lecturer at Allhallows, Lombard Street (DNB).

James Fordyce, D.D., 1720-1796, minister of the Presbyterian congregation in Monkwell Street, longtime friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson (DNB).

[49] Philip Doddridge, D.D., 1702-1751, of Northampton, popular dissenting preacher and hymn-writer (DNB).

I spent many agreeable evenings with Mr. West,[50] a native of Pennsylvania, and history-painter to the King of Great Britain. He was friendly and hospitable to all his countrymen. I picked up many anecdotes from his conversation of the King and royal family, also of many of the nobility of England. Nothing delighted him more than to talk of the pleasant scenes of his native country. He often spoke of the simple manners of the inhabitants of Chester County, in which he was born, and of the romantic walks and prospects on the river Skuilkill [Schuylkill]. He had spent several years in Italy in acquiring knowledge of his profession, and often entertained me with remarks upon the manners of the Italians and contrasted them with the manners of his own and other countries. I shall relate one of those remarks. In crossing the Channel at Dover he saw upon the English shore, just before he reached it, two little boys fighting. His heart was strangely moved with pleasure at the sight. He had seen nothing like it since he had left America. It was the signal of a revival of integrity, and of the open and honest operation of the passions. In Italy he had never seen anger break out in the face, or in the fists. This passion always descended into the heart in that country, and vented itself only in poison or assassination. However painful the sight alluded to might have been at any other time, it is not to be complained of that it was upon this occasion seen with a sudden emotion of pleasure.

Mr. West introduced me to several of the most celebrated members of the Royal Academy of Artists in London and in particular to Sir Joshua Reynolds,[51] by whom I was soon afterwards invited to dine with Dr. Johnson, Dr. Goldsmith, and several other distinguished literary characters.[52] Soon after the company met, it was remarked to one of them, that the Reviewers had been very severe upon a work he had lately published. "What then," said Dr. Johnson to the gentleman, "where is the advantage of having a great deal of money, but that the loss of a little will not hurt you? In like manner, where is the advantage of having a great deal of reputation but that the loss of a little will not hurt you? You can bear the censures of the Reviewers." At dinner the Doctor spoke a good deal, and always in a manner that commanded respect. Upon being asked what his opinion was of Mr. Boswell, he said "he was much given to asking questions and that they were not always of the most interesting nature. For instance, he will sometimes ask "Pray, Doctor, why is an apple round, and why is not a pear so?"[53] He treated Dr. Goldsmith, who was a man of gentle and unoffending manners, with great rudeness in the course of the day. After dinner Mr. Eaton Wilkes,[54] brother of Jno. Wilkes,[55] came into Sir Joshua's. Dr. Johnson and he soon engaged in a dispute upon the propriety of the military being ordered lately to fire upon a mob in St. George's Fields, by which a man of the name of Allen was killed.[56] Mr. Wilkes condemned the measure, and said Col.—(whose name I do not recollect) had said, he could have dispersed the mob without firing a gun. "I have no doubt of it," said

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[50] Benjamin West, 1728-1820, had been in England about six years and was already a very popular artist. During the period of BR's visit he was helping to organize the Royal Academy, and had entered upon his long period of favor at Court. He had, however, not yet been appointed historical painter to the King (DNB).

[51] Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723-1793, was then at the height of his fame. He was elected first president of the new Royal Academy, and was knighted, during BR's stay in London (DNB). That he could find time for the youthful American visitor is added evidence of his generous nature.

Oliver Goldsmith, 1724-1774, was very well known by 1768-1769, having already published *The Traveller* and *The Vicar of Wakefield*.

[52] BR's account of this dinner is interestingly discussed by C. G. Osgood in "An American Boswell," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 1943-44, v. Mr. L. H. Butterfield in a privately printed brochure, *Reminiscences of Boswell and Johnson*, Somerville, N.J., 1946, has reprinted with valuable comments a closely similar but slightly longer account of the evening's conversation than that given here. This was furnished by BR in 1793 to the Rev. Dr. James Abercrombie, who printed it in *The Port Folio*, 1804, IV. BR's accounts have about them a suggestion of Boswell's *John-*

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son, which appeared in 1791. It would be interesting to compare their style with that of the original record of the same evening, in the journal of BR's London visit, which we must suppose he wrote down in 1769 between his Edinburgh and Paris journals (p. 39, note 3; p. 66, note 78) but which is now lost.

[53] "He sometimes could not bear being teased with questions. I was once present when a gentleman asked so many, as 'What did you do, Sir? What did you say, Sir,' that he at last grew enraged, and said 'I will not be put to the question. Don't you consider, Sir, that these are not the manners of a gentleman? I will not be baited with *what* and *why*; what is this? what is that? why is a cow's tail long? Why is a fox's tail bushy?' The gentleman . . . was a good deal out of countenance" (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. by G. Birkbeck Hill and L. F. Powell, Oxford, 1934, IV, 268).

BR's story supports the supposition of Croker in his edition of Boswell's *Johnson* that the inquisitive gentleman was Boswell himself.

[54] Heaton Wilkes, 1727-1803, a mild, impecunious merchant, was the youngest of the three Wilkes brothers (Horace Bleackley, *Life of John Wilkes*, London, 1917).

[55] John Wilkes, 1725?-1797, was then at the crisis of his stormy career of opposition to the government. He was imprisoned in April 1768, and while in custody was expelled from the House of Commons. Under the lax rules of the King's Bench prison (sufficiently illustrated by the story of the dinner party, see below) he was actively directing his attacks on the ministry. In a few months he was to be released and to enter upon an effective public career (DNB). BR must have been sadly torn, in his judgment of Wilkes, between hatred of his rakishness and of his irreverence toward Christianity, and admiration of his courage as a political reformer and martyr-advocate of free speech, which made him a friend of the American colonies.

[56] On May 10, 1768, shortly after John Wilkes was committed to the King's Bench prison, a mob of his sympathizers, gathered in the nearby St. George's Fields, was dispersed by a detachment of foot-guards, with several fatalities.

Dr. Johnson. "Some men have a method of quelling mobs which others have not, just as you have a method of defending them which I have not." The Doctor's conversation was highly respectful to religion, and though he was now and then offensive in his manners, I left his company under an impression that I had passed a day which deserved always to be remembered with pleasure.

I once dined with Dr. Goldsmith in the Temple, where he had rooms. He was entertaining, but he wanted the usual marks of great and original genius. He told his company that the vicar's wife in his "Vicar of Wakefield" was intended for his mother.[57] He repeated a number of the lines in *The Deserted Village* a year or two before it was published, in a very animated manner. He spoke with the Irish accent.

By means of a Dr. Bruce[58] I was introduced to Mrs. Macaulay,[59] the celebrated republican historian of England. She invited me to her evening Coterie which met once a week at her house. I met there some of the first literary and political characters in the British nation, among whom were Mr. Burgh, Sir Adam Ferguson, Capt. Phipps, Lord Nuneham, General Webb, and her brother, Alderman Sawbridge.[60] The subjects of conversation, which were literary and political, were discussed with elegance and good breeding. Mr. Burgh bore an active and entertaining part in them. Mr. Sawbridge once said "that the Duke of New Castle and Mr. Pitt, who succeeded him in the ministry, were alike partial to fools in their appointments, but the former preferred dull fools, and the latter sprightly fools." It was the first time in my life I had ever heard gravity and sprightliness separated from a supposed necessary connection with talents. I have an hundred times since seen the propriety of the remark. Mrs. Macaulay was sensible and eloquent, but visionary in some of her ideas of government. I once heard her say laws were defective in not rewarding Virtue, as well as punishing Vice. One of the company, I think Mr. Phipps, objected to this opinion, and said very justly that a good man's favourable reception by the world was reward enough for his virtue. I once took the liberty of telling her that some grammatical errors had been made by the printers of her history. "No (said she), they are my errors, and not the printer's. I have constantly refused to have them corrected, least it should be suspected that my history was not altogether my own." She visited Philadelphia in the year 1783, at which time she told me that she had had but little education, that she was a thoughtless girl 'till she was twenty, at which time she contracted a taste for books and knowledge by reading an odd volume of some history, which she picked up in a window of her father's house.

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[57] *The Vicar of Wakefield* is of course largely autobiographical, and no doubt both Goldsmith's parents are represented in the characters of the Vicar and Mrs. Primrose, respectively, but the notable portrait is that of his father rather than that of his mother (Stephen Gwynn, *Oliver Goldsmith*, London, 1935).

[58] "Dr. Bruce" may possibly have been BR's contemporary John Bruce, 1745-1826, the historian (DNB), although he was apparently not then a doctor.

[59] Catharine Sawbridge, 1731-1791, married (1) George Macaulay, M.D. (died 1766); (2) 1768, William Graham, brother to the celebrated quack James Graham. She was a talented and vigorous woman about whom centered a group of political radicals. At the time BR made her acquaintance she was half-way through the writing of her 8-volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, London, 1763-1783 (DNB). Mrs. Macaulay acquired a great reputation among the intellectual leaders of the American Revolution, and visited Mt. Vernon in 1784 (not 1783 as BR states; see Washington's *Diaries*, ed. Fitzpatrick).

[60] James Burgh, 1714-1775, a political writer of reformist tendencies (DNB).

Sir Adam Ferguson, 1723-1816, professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh, writer on political theory (DNB).

"Captain Phipps" must have been Constantine John Phipps, 1744-1792, officer in the Royal Navy, who was then at the threshold of his political career. Entering the navy in 1757, he was made captain in 1765. He was elected to Parliament in 1768, and became an opponent of the popular party. He commanded in 1773 a Polar expedition north of Spitsbergen and the next year reached the then farthest north. He was Lord of the Admiralty 1777-1782, Privy Councillor 1784; succeeded to the Irish barony of Mulgrave in 1775 and was created an English peer in 1790. (DNB; also *Notes on Phipps and Phips Families of England*, by Maj. H. R. Phipps, Lahore, India, 1911.)

George Simon, 2nd Earl Harcourt, 1736-1809, styled Lord Nuneham until he succeeded to the earldom in 1777. He was a member of Parliament from 1761 to 1768

While I was in Britain, Mr. Wilkes was the object of universal attention. The nation was divided into his friends and enemies according as they espoused or opposed the measures of the government. Mr. Wilkes was expiating some political offence in Newgate[61] while I was in London. My curiosity was excited to see the man that had so universally agitated and divided a nation. Arthur Lee of Virginia,[62] who knew him intimately, invited me to accompany him to a dinner

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(see Burke, *Peerage*, art. Harcourt) but was hardly one of "the first literary and political characters of the nation."

"General Webb" was presumably Daniel Webb, ca.1700-1773. In 1756 he was third in command in North America under Lord Loudon but was recalled to England in 1757 after unsuccessful services in the French and Indian War. In 1758 he was made quartermaster-general in Germany; major general in 1759; lieutenant general in 1761 (DNB).

John Sawbridge, 1732?-1795, at that time alderman of the borough of Langbourne, afterward (1775) Lord Mayor of London and member of Parliament; republican and supporter of John Wilkes (DNB).

[61] Wilkes was in the King's Bench prison, not Newgate.

[62] Arthur Lee, 1740-1792, U.S. Commissioner to France 1776-1779, and chiefly remembered for his association (and dissensions) with Franklin, was born in Virginia and educated at Eton and Edinburgh, where he took the degree of M.D. in

which he had prepared in prison for a number of his friends. The company consisted of 14 or 15 gentlemen, and the conversation was interesting and agreeable. Mr. Wilkes abounded in anecdotes and sallies of wit. He was perfectly well bred. Not an unchaste word or oath escaped his lips. I was the more surprised at this, as he had been represented a monster of immorality. After dinner I stepped into a small adjoining room which contained his library. His books consisted chiefly of histories and common place literature from which I formed an indifferent opinion of his taste and judgement. A man's pictures and books are generally pretty correct copies of the intellectual and moral qualities of the mind.

By means of a letter from Dr. Gibbons I was introduced to Wm. Cromwell,[63] great grand son to Oliver Cromwell and grand son to Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was a deacon of the Doctor's church, and seemed to pass the evening of his life in an innocent retirement in a small house in Hatten [Hatton] Garden. He was at the time I saw him near 70 years of age. He shewed me his grandfather's commission appointing him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It began with these words "To our trusty and well beloved son." The name of O. Cromwell was written above this inscription in large letters. He shewed me likewise Oliver's watch, many of his letters and coins, and finally presented me with impressions upon wax of two of the seals which hung to his watch. The one is the private seal of his family arms, the other is the seal of the commonwealth of England. I still possess them both. He had a perfect resemblance of his grand uncle Richard Cromwell.[64] He stood at the head of his bed when he died, and walked as chief mourner at his funeral. He was at that time ten years old.

I was frequently and kindly entertained by Messrs. Ed. and Charles Dilly, Booksellers in London.[65] At their hospitable table I met with

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1764. After a brief return to America he went to London in 1768 to study law at the Middle Temple (DAB). "Arthur Lee and John Wilkes became almost inseparable companions. . . . The Virginian liked to take prominent Americans to visit the Satanic demagogue" (Burton J. Hendrick, *The Lees of Virginia*, Boston, 1935).

[63] William Cromwell, 1693-1772, "generally known as Mr. Cromwell of Kirby Street," was the son of Major Henry Cromwell, 1658-1711. He was a pious and unassuming lawyer. He resided during the later part of his life in Kirby Street, Hatton Gardens, and was for fifty years a member and for nearly thirty years a deacon of the nonconformist meeting at Haberdashers' Hall (Mark Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell*, Birmingham, 1784).

[64] Richard Cromwell, 1626-1712, third son of Oliver Cromwell, in 1658-1659 lord protector of England in succession to his father.

[65] Edward Dilly (1732-1779) and Charles Dilly (1739-1807) were dissenters

many gentlemen of literary characters. Indeed their bookstore was a kind of Coffee house for authors. It was at their table I met Mr. Alexander Cruden, the laborious author of the concordance of the Scriptures.[66] He had been deranged from hard study, but was now in good health. He spoke but once, but what he said struck me very forcibly. "God (said he) permits a great deal of the sin that is committed in this world to pass with impunity, to convince us that there is a day of Judgement, but he now and then punishes it, to convince us that he governs the world by his Providence."

I was indebted to another Bookseller in London, of the name of Donaldson, for many civilities. He was a Scotchman of good character. He had a brother, a bookseller in extensive business in Edinburgh.[67]

The Revd. Mr. Coombe,[68] a relation from Philadelphia, lodged in the same house with me in London, and was my companion in many of my visits and walks in the city. We often spent the day in different

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and published many treatises in divinity as well as much general literature. They had a large trade in books with America (DNB). BR's mention of them sounds like a reminiscence of Boswell's comment "My worthy booksellers and friends, messieurs Dilly in the Poultry, at whose hospitable and well-covered table I have seen a greater number of literary men than at any other, except that of Sir Joshua Reynolds" (*Life of Johnson*, ed. by G. Birkbeck Hill and L. F. Powell, Oxford, 1934, III, 65). The Dillys were BR's London publishers for many years.

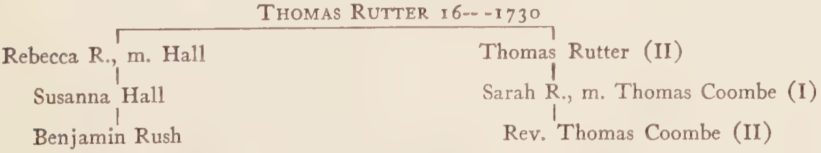
[66] Alexander Cruden, D.D., 1701-1770, whose *Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1737) was the most elaborate and most highly prized work of that sort ever published, suffered repeatedly from attacks of insanity with paranoid symptoms (DNB).

[67] John Donaldson (*floreat* 1730-1780) conducted a bookshop in London in partnership with his brother.

Alexander Donaldson, ? -1794, was a prominent printer and bookseller in Edinburgh. He established the *Edinburgh Advertiser* in 1764. He acquired notoriety by publishing cheap reprints of books in disregard of the courtesies observed between members of the trade. (R. T. Plomer, G. H. Bushness, and E. R. McC. Dix, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1726 to 1775*, Oxford, 1932.)

[68] Thomas Coombe, 1748-1822, clergyman and poet, was graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1766, went to England in 1768 and was ordained in the Church of England. Returning to Philadelphia he distinguished himself as a preacher. Becoming known as a Tory, he was permitted to go back to England, where he continued his career as a clergyman (DAB). There is a valuable collection of Coombe's letters at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

BR and Rev. Thomas Coombe were second cousins, as follows:



(See J. G. Leach, *Chronicles of the Yerkes Family, with Notes on the Leech and Rutter Families*, Philadelphia, 1904.)

Univ. of Tulsa Library
Tulsa, Oklahoma

circles, and brought home in the evening the results of what we had seen or heard. My relation and friend possessed taste and memory. He went into a good deal of learned company, more especially of the clergy, from whom he collected many curious anecdotes, all of which he imparted to me in the most agreeable manner. He was well acquainted with Dr. Jortin, Dr. Heberden and Dr. Saunders. Dr. Saunders spoke often to him of the learned Dr. Samuel Clark. He called him "a reasoning machine."[69]

I never had much taste for public amusements, but if I had, my slender resources would have prevented my enjoying them while I was in London.

I passed but three or four evenings at the Theatre, where I once heard the celebrated Garrick[70] perform, and afterwards deliver an Epilogue composed for the occasion, which was the benefit of decayed actors. He appeared to be equal in every respect to his fame. "While other players boiled, he alone simmered" was the remark a foreigner once made upon his manner of acting. This was strictly true. It was reported while I was in London that Mr. Garrick was dead. The next day it was contradicted; the day afterwards, the following lines appeared in a news paper which are highly expressive of his talents as a speaker.

"Garrick is dead! so prattles fame;
The bard replies, it cannot be.
Garrick, and nature are the same;
Both born for immortality."

The other popular Players whom I saw perform were Powell, Holland, Shuter, Weston, King, Barry, and Mrs. Barry. The last had great merit as a speaker.[71]

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[69] John Jortin, D.D., 1698-1770, ecclesiastical historian and critic, Archdeacon of London (DNB).

William Heberden, 1710-1801, one of the most eminent English physicians of the eighteenth century, a profound medical observer and a good classical scholar (DNB).

The "Clark" referred to was doubtless Samuel Clarke, 1675-1729, English theologian, mathematician and philologist, especially known for his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1712 (DNB).

Who Dr. Saunders may have been is uncertain. He must have been old enough to have known Dr. Clarke. Perhaps he was the Rev. Dr. Erasmus Saunders, d. 1775, of London (see DNB, article on his father, Erasmus Saunders, 1670-1724).

[70] David Garrick, 1719-1779, had by this time practically ceased to act (DNB). The performance witnessed by BR might possibly be identified by searching a collection of contemporary playbills. BR had the opportunity to enjoy the London stage at one of its greatest periods. It is curious that he either forgot what plays he saw, or did not think it worth while to record them. Perhaps he was a little ashamed of his play-going.

[71] William Powell, 1735-1769, tragedian, first a protégé and then a rival of Garrick. In his last season, when BR saw him, he was playing at Drury Lane.

I visited all the public buildings, institutions, and shews that usually attract the notice of Strangers. I likewise visited most of the large and curious manufacturies that were carried on in London, and wrote down descriptions of them. In these visits and observations I was once accompanied and assisted by Mr. Wolfe, an ingenious Chemist of London.[72]

I once saw the King (George III) and his family at his chapel, and once at a Levee. I saw him likewise go in great pomp to the House of Lords to open a session of Parliament.

I once heard Lord Mansfield[73] speak with great perspicuity and elegance upon a law question in the House of Lords.

I attended the House of Commons, and there saw the celebrated speakers Col. Barre and Mr. Burke.[74] Neither of them spoke while I was in the House of Commons.

I went once into Westminster hall but was not so happy [as] to hear any of the first Lawyers speak at the bar. Lord Mansfield presided in the Court.

I spent several hours in Westminster Abbey, and in viewing the curious objects in the Tower. A description of both is to be met with in books. I shall therefore pass over them in silence.

Charles Holland, 1733-1769, a competent actor at Drury Lane.

Edward Shuter, 1728?-1776, celebrated comedian who took comic parts of the higher class at Covent Garden.

Thomas Weston, 1737-1776, one of the greatest English comedians, played at the Haymarket Theater in 1768-1769.

Thomas King, 1730-1805, actor and dramatist, took leading comedy roles at Drury Lane.

Spranger Barry, 1719-1777, Shakespearian actor of great ability, was playing at Drury Lane.

Ann Spranger Barry, 1734-1801, Shakespearian actress known as Mrs. Dancer before she married Spranger Barry in 1761, was at the height of her reputation when BR saw her.

For the lives of all these actors, see DNB.

[72] Probably Peter Woulfe, 1727?-1803, inventor of the apparatus known to all beginning students of chemistry as the Woulff bottle. A chemical experimenter of considerable talent, he was elected F.R.S. in 1767 and awarded the Copley medal in 1768 (DNB).

[73] William Murray, 1705-1793, created first Earl of Mansfield in 1776, celebrated parliamentary orator and jurist, was Baron Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, when BR heard him (DNB).

[74] Isaac Barre, 1726-1802, Irish member of Parliament, and Lord Shelburne's spokesman in the House of Commons, had already spoken vigorously for the American colonies in a debate on the Stamp Act (1765). The name of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. couples his memory with that of John Wilkes (DNB).

Edmund Burke, 1729-1797, was then in Parliament and was leader of the Whig party (DNB). His reputation for eloquence and literary skill was already established, although his greatest oration, "On Conciliation with America" was six years in the future.

I visited no place with half so much pleasure as the British Museum. Every thing rare and curious in nature or art was exhibited there. My friend Dr. B—. of Maryland,[75] who accompanied me in my visit to this place, upon seeing any thing that struck him suddenly, had a habit of exclaiming "God bless my Soul." "I hope he will" said Dr. Gifford, the keeper of the museum.[76] "Do what?" said Dr. B—. "Why, bless your Soul, was it not that you prayed for?" Dr. B—. was confused, and made no reply. The whole company seemed struck with the rebuke.

Many characters have been given of the English nation. To different people the same objects often appear in different forms or colors. There was in my view at the time I was in London, a variety in the manners of the people of England, as great as their ranks and occupations. The nobleman, the commoner, the countryman, gentleman of large and moderate fortune, the common farmer, the merchant, the shopkeeper, the tavern keeper, the Tradesman of a large capital, and his journeyman, the Lawyer, the Physician, the Bishop, the unbeneficed clergyman, the dissenting minister, the military officer, and soldier, the sailor, the water man, the lamp lighter, the hackney coachman, the hawkers, the beggars had each a specific character. They were all, it is true, in some points Englishmen, but in many more they were as dissimilar from each other as if they had belonged to different nations.[77]

On the [16th] of Feb. I set out for Paris[78] with letters of introduction from Dr. Franklin, to several of his philosophical friends. When I parted with the Doctor, he asked me "how I was provided with money for my jaunt." I told him I believed I had enough. "Perhaps not, you may be exposed to unexpected expenses. Here, said he, is a credit upon a Banker in Paris for two or three hundred guineas." I thankfully accepted his kind and generous offer. The issue of it will be mentioned hereafter.[79] Nothing worth relating occurred in my journey to Paris. I arrived there in a few days after I left London, and was introduced by means of my letters to the following persons: Messrs. Dubourg, a physician; Le Roy, an academician; La Roux, Baume, Macquair, chemists; Sue, the anatomist; Nollet, lecturer upon natural philosophy; Jessieu, Botanist to the King, Diderot the philosopher and friend of Voltaire, and some others of less note. By means of Dr. Dubourg I was introduced to the Marquis of Mirabeau,[80] who kept a Coterie once a week at his house, to which I was invited. Upon my entering his room, which was large, and filled with ladies and gentlemen of the first literary characters in Paris, Dr. Dubourg announced me in the following words: "Voila! Un ami de Mons. Franklin." The Marquis ran towards the door and took me by the hand, saying at the same time "C'est assez." The subjects of conversation were oeconomics, liberty, and government. The "Farmer's Letters" written by Mr. Dickinson[81] had then been recently translated into the French language. They were praised with enthusiasm by all the company. Many questions were asked, relative of the Author of them, which I was able to gratify. Upon my mentioning to the Marquis an account which had been published in a Philadelphia newspaper that a gentleman in Virginia had left Mr. Dickinson a large estate as an acknowledgement of his esteem and admiration of his letters, the Marquis remarked with great fervor "J'en suis fachè. Les Riches corrompt le coeur." This account I found afterwards was without foundation. The only refreshment given at this Coterie was coffee. Several ladies attended it.

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[75] Presumably Gustavus Richard Brown, who was in London that winter "walking the hospitals."

[76] Andrew Gifford, D.D., 1700-1784, numismatist, assistant librarian in the British Museum, was also pastor of the Eagle Street Baptist meeting (DNB).

[77] BR's letters of instruction to James Rush when the latter was about to leave Edinburgh for London in 1810 contain interesting elaborations of these comments (LHB, *Rush Letters*).

[78] The Pierpont Morgan Library of New York City possesses a manuscript account of this trip to Paris, in a notebook of 32 pages, carefully written in copybook style not resembling BR's hand. Internal evidence proves that it was composed soon after the journey. BR extracted the present version of the trip from it, omitting little of interest. The earlier account is franker in its disparagement of the Court and the Dauphin, but more liberal about the people and customs. It includes, for example, a defense of rouge!

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania also has a ms. copy of this account.

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[79] Among the Franklin papers in the Library of the American Philosophical Society is the letter addressed by Franklin on Feb. 13, 1769 to his bankers, Messrs. Smith, Wright, and Gray, requesting a letter of credit for BR to the amount of £200. For "the issue of it" see p. 74 below. This is the only mention in the present mss. of financial help by Franklin; the episode is probably the basis of the story that Franklin paid for BR's education abroad (see J. Abraham, *Lettsom: His Life and Times*, London, 1937). Franklin's letter, which is reproduced herewith, says "he sets out tomorrow" (i.e. Feb. 14) but the Morgan ms. has "I sat of from London February 16:1769"; the latter date has therefore been entered in our text where BR left a blank.

[80] Jacques Barbeu Dubourg, 1709-1779, physician and botanist, was a personal friend of Franklin and it was evidently to him that BR was primarily introduced. In his contemporary account of the trip to Paris (Morgan ms.) BR wrote a boyishly enthusiastic encomium of Dubourg's learning, generosity and moral character. Dubourg later translated Franklin's scientific papers (*Oeuvres de M. Franklin*, Paris, 1773). He was elected to the American Philosophical Society on Franklin's nomination, 1773.

Jean-Baptiste Le Roy, ? -1800, member of the Académie des Sciences 1751, an experimenter with electricity. He was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1786.

Augustin Roux, 1726-1776, physician and editor of the *Journal de Médecine*.

Antoine Baumé, 1728-1804, an inventive practical chemist and dealer in chemical products, professor of chemistry at the Ecole de Pharmacie.

Pierre-Joseph Macquer, 1718-1784, member of the Académie des Sciences 1745, a physician by training, was professor of chemistry at the Jardin du Roi.

Jean-Joseph Sue, 1710-1792, surgeon to the Charité hospital, had charge of anatomical instruction at the Collège des Chirurgiens.

Abbé Jean-Antoine Nollet, 1700-1770, at the time of BR's visit incumbent of a chair of experimental physics at the Collège de Navarre, Paris.

Bernard de Jussieu, 1699-1777, trained as a physician, became a botanist under his brother Antoine. Member of the Académie des Sciences, 1725. He had charge of the royal garden of the Trianon at Versailles.

Denis Diderot, 1713-1784, editor of the *Encyclopédie*.

Victor Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau, 1715-1789 (father of the revolutionary orator Mirabeau) liberal writer on politics, taxation, and population problems.

Biographical sketches of all these French acquaintances of BR will be found in NBG.

The members of this Society consisted of some men who bore an active part in the events of the first years of the French Revolution.[82] The seeds of the Revolution, it has been said by one of its enemies, were sowed by the meetings and publications of this Society.

There was but little worthy of notice in my intercourse with the other gentlemen I have named. Mr. Jessieu bore an excellent character for morals, as well as science. Dr. Dubourg said of him before I saw him that "he possessed all the knowledge of the present world, and all the goodness of the world to come."

I heard the Abbé Nollet give a lecture upon natural philosophy. The subject of it was the mechanic powers. It was received with claps of applause by an audience consisting of nearly 300 persons.

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[81] John Dickinson, 1732-1808, lawyer and statesman of Philadelphia, published anonymously in December 1767 a series of letters later known in pamphlet form as *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (1768; French translation, 1769). In these letters, which were very widely read in Europe as well as in the Colonies, he spoke for conciliation of the disputes between Britain and the Colonies, while hinting at the possible necessity of forcible resistance. Since BR will refer to him more than once again, it may be added here that as a member of the Continental Congress he clung to the policy of conciliation as long as possible, refusing to sign the Declaration of Independence, but he fought in the Revolutionary War. In 1787 as a delegate from Delaware he took part in the framing of the Federal Constitution (DAB). For BR's characterization see p. 154.

[82] BR is here referring, no doubt, to the so-called school of Physiocrats, a group of thinkers and writers on economics whose views on liberty of the individual and on taxation played a part in the pre-revolutionary intellectual ferment. The Marquis de Mirabeau was one of their leaders. Perhaps BR was thinking vaguely also of the Encyclopédistes, led by Diderot; the two groups overlapped to some extent.

It is remarkable that the young tourist, already something of an anti-monarchist, and meeting all these liberal intellectuals, seems to have guessed nothing of what was in the air in France and could actually believe that Louis XV was "the idol of the nation." His French was no doubt insufficient for free conversation, as is demonstrated by the errors in the French quotations in these paragraphs.

Mr. Diderot entertained me in his library. He gave me a letter to Mr. Hume when I left him. I delivered this letter to Mr. Hume upon my return to London. It gave me an opportunity of spending a part of a forenoon in his company. His conversation at this time was general. He had a picture of Rousseau in his room which he said was like him, especially in having his "peevish countenance."

I visited all the public hospitals in Paris but without entering myself as a pupil in any of them.[83] The Hotel de la Charitè was remarkably neat and clean, and the patients well accommodated. Many of them were nursed by nuns of noble families. The Hotel Dieu was crowded and offensive. I saw four persons in one bed. It was open to the sick of all religions and countries.

I visited all the galleries and churches that were known for containing celebrated pictures. Two of these pictures struck me above all others. One was of a Mary Magdalen weeping, in the church of the Carmelites. The other was of a woman dying with the plague, and receiving the sacrament from the hand of a priest. It was in the Church of the Virgin Mary. Pain, sickness, and death all appeared at once in her countenance.

It would require many passages to describe all the elegant pieces of statuary which attracted my attention in Paris. I was struck most by a representation of Cardinal Richlieu in marble on his deathbed in the church of Sorbonne. It had been pronounced a perfect piece of statuary. When Peter the Great of Russia saw it he fell upon it, and exclaimed "O! Richlieu, I would give half my dominion for such a minister."[84]

The public buildings, particularly the palaces of the King, are very splendid. A description of them is to be seen in many publications. The Foundling hospital was to me a most agreeable sight. Eighteen or twenty children were admitted into it, the night before I saw it. The door of the hospital is always open, and a basket made like a cradle is placed near it into which the infant is placed. A bell is then rung, to give notice to the keepers of the hospital of what has been done. In the meanwhile, the person who brings the infant disappears. It is supposed that one eighth of all the children born in Paris are brought up by means of this institution. The motto over the door of the hospital is very appropriate to the condition of the children. It is "Mon pere et ma mere m'ont abandonè, mais Le Seigneur a pris soin de moi." "My father and my mother have abandoned me, but the Lord hath taken care of me."[85]

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[83] BR was not impressed with the French medicine of the time, saying (in the Morgan ms.) that it was 50 years behind that of the British.

[84] The tomb of Richelieu in the Church of the Sorbonne, sculptured by Girardon in 1694, is still admired for its skillful execution, though the style is too theatrical for modern taste.

Curiosity led me to visit Versailles where I spent a whole day. The palace and the garden were magnificent and beautiful. I saw the King, Lewis XV, pass through a large hall to a gallery in his chapel where he went to mass. A loud voice announced his coming. It was "Le Roi veniene." I stood within a few feet of him as he walked along, attended by several priests and noblemen. I followed him afterwards into his chapel where I remained until mass was over. His behaviour in chapel was dignified, and apparently devout. He had a good eye, and an intelligent countenance, and hence he was said to be "the most sensible looking fool in Europe."

I saw the Dauphin and his two brothers, the Count de Provence and the Count D'Artois, dine in public. The Dauphin was between 15 and 16, and appeared to be dull in his intellects and vulgar in his manners. The Count D'Artois was sprightly, and courteous to all who approached him. I was afterwards admitted to see the King's daughters dine in a private apartment in the palace. They appeared to be above 40 years of age. I saw nothing remarkable about them but a large quantity of paint on their cheeks.[86]

In contemplating the French character concentrated as it was in Paris, I was struck with its immense difference from that which I had observed in the character of the English nation. There appeared to me to be but one Frenchman in Paris. There was no variety in their manners. The same taste in dress pervaded all classes from the nobleman down to the beggar. The same phraseology was heard in their language. "Honor" and "pleasure" were the hackneyed words that composed a material part of it. The subjects of conversation, except among literary men, had no variety. Amusements and anecdotes of the Court formed a principal part of them. The King was at this time the idol of the nation. He was called "Lewis the well beloved." The extent of the attachment of the nation to him, and the principles of the French monarchy may be best conceived by the following anecdote. I heard Mr. Wilkes say on the day I dined with him in Newgate, that he once dined with twelve gentlemen in Paris, eleven of whom declared they should think it their duty to surrender up their wives to the lust of the King if he desired them.

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[85] Psalms XXVII, 10.

[86] The King's grandsons were a little younger than BR thought them. The Dauphin, later Louis XVI, was born in 1754 and was therefore between 14 and 15. The Comte de Provence, born in 1755, took the title of Louis XVIII of France in 1795. The Comte d'Artois was born in 1757; he became king (Charles IX) in 1824. The King's daughters were the Mesdames Marie-Adélaïde, b. 1732; Victoire-Louise, b. 1733; Sophie, b. 1734; Louise-Marie, b. 1737.

Horace Walpole, a tourist of very different temperament, described the same scenes in the same year:

"We saw the Dauphin and his brother at dinner. The eldest . . . has a sickly air and no grace. The Count de Provence has a very pleasing countenance, with an air of more sense than the Count d'Artois, the genius of the family . . . the latter . . . is very fat.

"From the chapel we went to the dinner of the elder Mesdames. . . . When the doors are opened, everybody rushes in, princes of the blood, *cordons bleus*, abbés, housemaids and the Lord knows who and what. Yet so used are their Highnesses to this trade, that they eat as comfortably and heartily as you or I could do in our own parlours." *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu*, edited by W. S. Lewis and R. S. Brown, Jr., New Haven, 1941 (letter of 17 September, 1769).

Civilians divide mankind into three great classes, viz, savages, barbarians and civilized people. The savage lives by fishing and hunting, the barbarian by pasturage, and the civilized man by agriculture. There is a certain chain which connects each of these classes together, so that they appear to be different parts of one circle. All extremes meet in a point. The highest degrees of civilization border upon the savage life. The individuals of the human race are once men, and twice children, so nations are once civilized and twice savage. I shall illustrate these remarks by mentioning certain traits of resemblance between the manners of the French nation (the most civilized of any nation in the world) and the Indians in North America, which occurred to me while I was in Paris.

1. The French people are strangers to what is called delicacy in the intercourse of the sexes with each other. Their women seldom conceal those wants and necessities to which their sex has subjected them, from the knowledge of the men. A similar want of delicacy appears in the intercourse of sexes with each other among the Indians. I do not mean to call in question the chastity of the French ladies by this remark. The forms of delicacy are arbitrary, and differ in different countries. The same tribes of Indians who are deficient in delicacy, punish adultery by death.

2. The French people are fond of ornamenting their faces by means of paint, so are the Indians. The ladies in France take no pains to conceal the practice of painting their faces. They sometimes take out their boxes in their carriages in the streets of Paris, and paint their faces

by means of a pocket looking glass, in the presence of many hundred passing spectators.

3. The French people eat their principal meal in the evening. The same practice prevails among the Indians. They both agree in eating a little, and often during the day.

4. The people of rank and fortune among the French are very fond of fishing and hunting. These employments are with them the sources of pleasure only, but with the Indians they are the means of pleasure and subsistence. It would seem from this fact that man is naturally a wild animal, and that taken from the woods, he is never happy in his natural state 'till he returns to them again.

5. There is a fifth custom in which I observed the French people to resemble the Indians, and that is, they seldom address each other by their proper names. It is no uncommon thing for a Frenchman when called by his name in company to say "Sir, I am much obliged to you for putting me in mind of my name, but I assure you I had not forgotten it." In favor of this omission of which the French are so tenacious, I must remark that the best bred people that I have ever met with rarely accost each other by their names in company. I am at a loss to point out the foundation of this custom in nature. We observe it to obtain among the Indians in North America. They call one another so seldom by their names, that some Travellers have supposed they have none. As they are divided into little tribes which marry within themselves, they become in time related in such a manner, that they call each other by a name expressive of some of those relations such as *father, mother, sister, brother* and *cousin.* The last of these epithets they use to all those persons whose relationship is too distant to be traced. The other epithets are used according to the age, or respectability of the person who is addressed. (See Charlevoix: Voyage dans l'Amerique Sintentrionalle, Vol. V, p. 427.)[87] This custom among the Indians has been urged, with other circumstances, to prove their descent from the Jews, who it is well known frequently addressed each other in this manner. Thus we find Abraham says to Lot "we are brethren,"[88] whereas he was but his nephew, and Jacob tells Rachel that he was her father's brother, when no such relationship subsisted between them.[89] The universality of the practice that has been mentioned, seems to shew that there is a foundation for it in nature, and

[87] P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le Journal historique d'un Voyage fait dans l'Amérique septentrionale,* Paris, 1744.

[88] Genesis XIII, 8.

[89] Genesis XXIX, 12.

as it is calculated to remove the distance and coldness that seperate man from man, real advantages might arise from its being more generously adopted.

6. The laborious occupations are held in contempt by the French nation. Even commerce is said to taint blood and to degrade family honor. The same sentiment prevails among the Indians. Labor is the exclusive business of their women, and the weak or cowardly part of their men.

7. The military art is held in the highest estimation in France, and arms confer the first rank in Society. "A-t-il servi," that is, has he been in the army, is the first and often the only question that is asked when inquiry is made into the character of a young gentleman. The same preference is given to the business of war among the Indians. The highest praise that can be given to an Indian is to say that "he is a great warrior."

Having gratified my curiosity to its greatest extent in Paris, I set off for London on the 21st and arrived at Calais on the 25th of March. The next day I crossed the Channel and arrived at Dover. I left this town on the 27th and reached Dartford on the evening of the same day. I intended to have proceeded further, but was deterred from it by the suspicious conduct of a man who rode several times around the post chaise in which I was, with a lady and gentleman, and who from his conversation with the postillion discovered an evident design to rob us. This apprehension was not without its use, and probably was the means of saving a life. About 8 o'clock the next morning in riding towards London the postillion stopped our carriage and said he heard a voice from the side of the road in a piece of wood calling for help. As I sat nearest to the spot from whence the voice came I ran first to inquire for the cause of it, and soon discovered a poor woman lying upon an old blanket upon the ground, who told me she was in labor. I told her I was a Physician and offered to relieve her. She thankfully accepted of my offer, and in ten minutes with the assistance of the lady who was with me in the carriage, I delivered her of a fine boy. She was speechless for some time afterwards, but in this state she took my hand and pressed it to her lips in the most affecting manner. After waiting about ten minutes, her husband came to her with two old women whom he had picked up in the neighbourhood, one of whom took the child from us. We lifted her into our post chaise and drove her to a little village which was about a mile and half behind us, where we left her in a comfortable house, with as much money as was sufficient to support her for several days. When I arrived in London and mentioned her case to the lady with whom I lodged (a Mrs. Jeffries in the Hay market) she sent her a bundle of cloathes for her Child, and sundry other things which are necessary and comfortable to women in her situation. I was informed two years afterwards that she had called to see me at Mrs. Jeffries's, and that she had called her little boy by my name.

A day or two after I arrived in London I called upon Dr. Franklin, and informed him that my expenses in Paris had so far exceeded my expectations that I had been obliged to avail myself of his kind offer, by drawing upon his Banker for 30 guineas. He seemed pleased and requested that I would pay them when convenient to his wife in Philadelphia. This I did, out of the first money I earned after my arrival. Mrs. Franklin for a while refused to receive it for the Doctor had not mentioned the debt to her in any of his letters. I take great pleasure in recording this delicate act of paternal friendship in Dr. Franklin. It attached me to him during the remainder of his life, and it has, since his death, disposed me to respect and love all the branches of his family.

I left London on the 24th of May in a post chaise, and reached Gravesend the same evening, where I spent two days. On the evening of the 26th I embarked on board the ship Edward, Captain Salmon, bound to New York with the following cabin passengers: Danl. Coxe of New Jersey and his mother, Col. Gabriel Christie and his niece, Major Skene, Lieut. Dysert of the British army, and a certain John Fricke, a London merchant or shopkeeper.[90] We lost sight of land in

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[90] Daniel Coxe, 1739-1826, was a son of Daniel Coxe, 1710-1758, one of the principal burgesses of Trenton, N.J. He married Sarah Redman, daughter of BR's preceptor, Dr. John Redman. He was a lawyer and became one of the leading loyalists of the Revolutionary period. Hence the Coxes spent all their later life in England. The eminent physician John Redman Coxe, a pupil of BR (see note 41, p. 256), was their second son. (*Old Philadelphia Families*, ed. by Alexander Du Bin, Philadelphia, 1939.) See p. 272 for BR's account of Sarah Redman Coxe's return to Philadelphia in 1807.

Abigail Streate Coxe (dates unknown), widow of Daniel Coxe of Trenton and mother of Daniel Coxe the younger, was a daughter of Leonard Streate, Esq., barrister of the Middle Temple, London (Du Bin, see preceding paragraph). Nothing more is known of her beyond what BR tells us here.

Gabriel Christie, 1722-1792, who had fought at Culloden, rose to be a general in the British army. (Burke, *Landed Gentry*.)

Major Skene may have been any one of three men of that name. Possibly he was Philip Skene, 1725-1810, who was at one time governor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, where he held 20,000 acres of land. He was arrested as an enemy officer in Philadelphia in 1775 (Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of his Own Time*, Philadelphia, 1846; W. F. Skene, *Memorials of the Family of Skene*, Aberdeen, 1887). He held a few days. The last view I took of the white cliffs of Britain from the stern of our ship was an affecting one. All the ancient and modern glory of that celebrated and highly favoured island rushed upon my mind. I enjoyed in silence this pensive retrospect of the first country in the world, 'till distance snatched it for ever from my sight.

There was a great variety in the characters of my fellow passengers, and the incidents of the voyage gave a perfect knowledge of each of them. Mr. Coxe was at all times well bred and agreeable. His excellent mother made us forget at times everything that was disagreeable at sea, by her pleasant and instructing conversation. She was learned and well informed upon all subjects, composed in danger, and so patient under contrary winds that it seemed as if she was at home in the cabin of our ship. Col. Christie had seen a great deal of service, had been in many battles, and mixed much with the world. His conversation bore the complexion of what he had seen and heard, and was at all times entertaining. His temper, which was irritable, now and then gave pain to some of the company. His niece was a handsome girl, without much education. Major Skene was a civil, inoffensive, well bred gentleman. Lieut. Dysert was a man of a more interesting character. He had served during the last preceding war in Germany[91] under Prince Ferdinand and the Marquis of Granby, and abounded with anecdotes of each of those officers, as well as in details of the war. I passed many pleasant hours with him on the deck, after most of the crew had retired to rest, in listening not only to the history of military events, but to incidents of a private nature in the history of his life. He was a very accomplished gentleman, always inoffensive, and ever ready to do good offices. I never heard him swear, nor mention

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the rank of major as early as 1764 (*Jour. of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1764-1767*, Public Record Office, London, 1936, 103-104). If this was he, it seems odd that BR, writing in 1800, did not mention the connection of his fellow-traveller of 1769 with events he must have known about in 1775; BR's description of Major Skene, moreover, does not match Graydon's picture of Skene of Ticonderoga as a jovial "2-bottle man." A son of this Philip S., Andrew Philip Skene, was a lieutenant in 1764 and may therefore have been a major in 1769. Information from British army records supplied by the Public Record Office, London, and the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, shows that there was a third officer named Philip Skene, who was a major in the 52nd Foot when that regiment was in America 1765-1778. He became a major general in later years.

The name of Richard Dysart appears in an army list of 1762 as "half-pay lieutenant fireworker" in the Royal Artillery. In 1771 he was at Niagara with the 1st Batt. R.A. He reached the rank of brevet major in 1794 and died in 1797 (information from Mrs. V. Heddon, Iver, Bucks).

John Fricke remains unidentified.

[91] i.e. the Seven Years' War.

the name of the Supreme Being in an irreverent manner. He was a native of Ireland. The person who called himself Mr. Fricke had a strange mixture of opposite qualities in his character. He knew London perfectly, and all the arts and tricks of business among the traders of every description. He was facetious upon some occasions, but his chief delight was to talk upon the pleasures of the table. He had lived among the Methodists, and had some of their peculiarities, but not eno' of what is excellent and praise worthy in that sect. It was a practice of good Mrs. Coxe to read a sermon in the cabin every Sunday, or to have one read by her son. Mr. Fricke objected to being present upon these occasions, because the sermons were only upon moral subjects. Upon my remonstrating with him upon this conduct, he told me if I would compose a sermon and read it in the cabin the ensuing Sunday, he would listen to it. To this I consented. The cabin and several of the steerage passengers assembled at the usual hour after dinner. The sermon contained a history of Mr. F.'s principles, conduct and appetite taken from a character described in the proverbs of Solomon. The whole company applied it to him. He took the sermon from me as soon as I had read it, and claimed it as his property. I heard a few months after my arrival, that he read it to a company of gentlemen in Maryland with whom he supped, and informed them that the subject of it was one of his fellow passengers. I never heard of him afterwards.

Our captain was an attentive seaman, and treated every person on board with civility and in some instances with kindness. He was a native of Scotland.

It has been said that there is always more or less inquietude both of body and mind at sea. It is owing to this state of the body and mind that Dr. Franklin used to say "there were three classes of people who did not care how little they got for their money, viz. school boys, sermon hearers, and sea passengers." I felt it in the most sensible manner. I was but little affected with seasickness, and that but for one day, but I was never perfectly well. My appetite was weak, and no food had its usual taste, and yet I was never easy but when I was eating, or for an hour or two after it. My mind was equally restless, and unsettled. The only remedy I found for it was reading and study. Having sent most of my books to Philadelphia by a vessel that sailed before me, I was obliged to borrow such books as I could procure from the ship's company. Mr. Coxe lent me the first three volumes of

Blackstone's Commentaries,[92] all of which I read with uncommon attention and pleasure. I afterwards read Foster's Crown Law.[93] To the reading of these books I ascribe in part the relish for political science which I felt in the beginning of the American Revolution. Our captain lent me an entertaining Italian novel which he had picked up at Leghorn entitled the "Countess of the North,"[94] which helped to render a few hours of several days less tedious. After reading this work and several other novels I procured from the steerage passengers, I found I had exhausted all the stock of common books on board the ship. In this situation I should have relapsed into the inquietude of mind I have described had not my friend Mr. Dysert offered to teach me the German language. For this purpose he put a grammar and German dictionary into my hands. By reading the grammar over I became acquainted with the principles and construction of the language. A German steerage passenger furnished me with a Bible in which I read constantly so that in the course of a few weeks I began to understand what I read with but little aid from a translation or a dictionary. While I was advancing with rapidity in this study, I was suddenly called off on the morning of the 14th of July by the cry of land. This at once dissipated all my ardor in the pursuit I was engaged in, and produced a new tide of impressions upon my mind. I viewed the American shore with a rapture that can only be conceived by persons who have been in my situation. In the afternoon of the same day we anchored off New York. I was received on the wharf by my old classmate and friend, Ebenezer Hazard, who conducted me to his partner's, Garret Noel's,[95] where I was most kindly received and entertained. The first refreshment I tasted after I came on shore was a dish of tea with bread and butter. It had a relish to me which

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[92] BR was an early reader of Sir William Blackstone's famous *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, which began to appear in 1765. Mr. Coxe did not have the 4th and last volume because it was not yet in print (published 1769).

[93] Sir Michael Foster, 1689-1763, *A Report of Some Proceedings on the Commission of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the Trial of the Rebels in the Year 1746 in the County of Surry, and of Other Crown Cases. To which are added Discourses upon a Few Branches of the Crown Law*, Oxford, 1762; a pirated edition, Dublin 1767.

[94] Giambattista Marchesi, in *Romanziere e Romanzi del Settecento*, Bergamo, 1903, lists a novel *La Contessa del Nord, ovvero Memorie e Avventuri di Madonna G.*, Venice, 1762, translated from the German, and attributed to the Abbate Pietro Chiari (1711-1785), a prolific novel-writer and translator.

[95] Garrat Noel was a publisher and bookseller in New York City, "next door to the Merchants' Coffee House," dealing largely in imported books. After he had been in business a number of years Ebenezer Hazard became his partner (Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, Worcester, Mass., 1810).

I never before perceived in food of any kind and such as is perceived after extreme hunger, and in the convalescent state of a fever. Three things struck me in the appearance of the people I saw in the streets of New York. 1, They had less color; 2, they walked less erect; and 3, they moved with a less quick step than the citizens of London. This difference in the complexions and manner of walking of the inhabitants of the two countries ceased to attract my attention after I had been a few weeks in America. The evening and day after my arrival, I felt an uncommon depression of spirits, the usual effect of a high tide of joy upon the system. I now believed the many accounts which have been published, of melancholy and even suicide following similar emotions of the mind. Two days after my arrival in New York I set off in the stage for Philadelphia. I met my brother and my old classmate and friend Jonth. Smith[96] at Bristol, with whom I came into town on the evening of the 18th of the month. I was received by my dear mother and sister with tears of joy which soon became reciprocal. Several succeeding days were spent in receiving visits from my fellow citizens, and in returning them.

IV. *Life as Physician in Philadelphia*

In the course of a week I settled in a house which had been previously taken for me in Arch Street between Front and 2nd Streets. My brother, who had just begun the practice of the law, lived with me. A sister who had been unfortunate in her marriage kept house for us.[1] In this situation I was led to deliberate on the usual modes of a physician's getting an establishment in business, for I well knew that had I possessed ever so much knowledge or sagacity in my profession they would avail nothing in my favor. The principal means which introduce a physician into business are as follow:

1. The patronage of a great man. From this quarter I had no hopes, for I was unknown to any of the men who were called great in our city. So much was this the case, that when my name, with my profes-

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[96] Jonathan (Bayard) Smith, 1742-1812, was a classmate of BR at Princeton. He was a member of the Committee of Safety and of Congress (1777), and afterwards judge, alderman, and state official (DAB).

[1] It was probably Rebecca Rush who kept house for the brothers. She had married Thomas Stamper in 1761. What became of him seems to be forgotten. Letters to BR during the early Revolutionary period convey compliments to Mrs. Stamper (L. H. Butterfield, personal communication).

sional title, was mentioned in one of the first circles in the city, a few days after my arrival, one of the company asked whether I was a Doctor of Divinity or Physic.

2. The influence of extensive and powerful family connections. From this quarter likewise I had nothing to hope. My family connections were few, and without power or influence in the city.

3. The influence of a religious sect or political party. At the time of my settlement in Philadelphia the influence of the religious Society in which I had been chiefly educated, viz. the Presbyterian, was too small and too much divided to afford me much support. Besides, I was too feebly attached to their principles and forms, to have any claims upon them. My intercourse with other sects while I was abroad had led me to consider all denominations of Christians with a more equal eye than I had done in early life, and had divested me of an undue predilection for either of them. The Presbyterian Society moreover, was not only small and divided, but it was the object of the jealousy, or hatred of the two Societies, viz. the Quakers and Episcopalians, who possessed between them the greatest part of the wealth and influence of the city. It was in vain therefore to expect patronage from either of them. The Quakers had long been in the habit of confining their business chiefly to persons who belonged to their Society, or who favoured their views in politicks. I do not complain of this conduct; it is natural and perhaps praise worthy. I mention it as a reason why I had recourse to the only mode of succeeding in business which was left for me, and that was by attending the poor. I had been much struck in reading when a boy, that Dr. Boerhaave had said that "the poor were his best patients, because God was their paymaster." I had heard that Dr. Cullen had established himself in Scotland, and Dr. Fothergill in London chiefly by their extensive and successful practice among the poor. My natural disposition made this mode of getting into business agreeable to me, for I had a natural sympathy with distress of every kind. My conduct during my apprenticeship moreover paved the way for my success in adopting it, for I had made myself acceptable at that time to the poor by my services to them. I began business among them, and in a few months was fully employed. I recollect at one time in the first year of my settlement I prescribed, after returning from a morning walk, for 16 different patients, and charged but one of them. Several of my poor patients lived at Kensington and in distant parts of the Northern Liberties and Southwark. Some of them lived as tenants at the country seats near the city. These

I visited and mostly on foot for the first years after my settlement, and supplied them with all the medicines they required out of my own Shop. I soon found my labor was not in vain. The reputation ascribed to some cures I had performed, and the faithful attendance I was said to give to my patients where no reward was expected, in a little while begat other business. I had seen the Suttonian method of giving and treating the small pox in London and introduced it into our city.[2] The mode of infecting the arm by a small puncture, instead of a long incision, was a very popular one, and brought me many patients, some of whom continued to employ me in other diseases. I had learned likewise from my master Dr. Cullen to give but few medicines in diseases, and to rely more upon diet and drinks than had been common in Philadelphia. This likewise helped to introduce me into business. The circumstances that influence opinion and choice and of course the fate of a physician are too numerous and many of them too trifling to be mentioned. The following fact will best illustrate this remark, and shew that medical skill has but little share in them. I was once sent for to see a respectable Scotch sea captain in Southwark. I had never heard of his name before. After I had examined his disease, he told me that he had great confidence in me, and that he had made choice of me as his physician because he had once witnessed my decent behaviour in the time of Divine Service in the Revd. Dr. Allison's[3] Church. This man employed me as long as he lived, which was 20 years afterwards, and his recommendations brought me several families in his neighbourhood. Several other persons made it their business to recommend me to their friends, whose names I take great pleasure in recording. They were, the Revd. Mr. Wm. Marshall[4] by whose means I was employed by nearly every family in his congregation. This congregation it is true was at that time small and poor, but their business was useful to me. David McMurtrie,[5] a Scotch merchant had dealed extensively with my mother, and had formed an attachment to me upon her account before I went abroad. Upon my return, he took me by the hand, and recommended me to his acquaintances as a physician His manner of doing this was artful, and therefore not ascribed to any interest he took in my establishment. If he heard of any body being very ill, he made it a practice to inquire who was his Doctor. If my name was not mentioned, he expressed his surprize at it, and added long details of my opportunities of instruction in Edinburgh and of my having been the pupil of the two Hunters in London, both of whom he knew in early life. Mrs. Patten, a celebrated midwife,[6] was very successful in speaking in my favor. One of the most friendly and profitable families that I ever attended, employed me in consequence of her recommendations. In addition to the aid I derived from the circumstances and friendly exertions that have been mentioned, I was a good deal assisted by being appointed Professor of Chemistry in the College of Philadelphia the month after my arrival. This held me up to public notice now and then in the newspapers, and made my name familiar to the public ear much sooner than it would have been. It was likewise an immediate source of some revenue. For this appointment I was indebted to the early friendship of Dr. Jno. Morgan, who first advised me to qualify myself for it before I went to Edinburgh in 1766.

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[2] Vaccination against smallpox was announced by Jenner in 1798. Beginning about 1713 the practice of variolation, i.e. of deliberate inoculation with smallpox virus from a human case, was introduced into England from the Orient. In 1763 Robert and Daniel Sutton, sons of an apothecary in Norfolk, popularized their father's improved method, which consisted chiefly in using serum from an early lesion in the blister stage, before it was contaminated with pus, and in introducing it through a small scratch or puncture (see Arnold C. Klebs, "The Historic Evolution of Vaccination," *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hospital*, Baltimore, 1913, XXIV, 69-83).

BR was truly a pioneer of the Suttonian method in America, for Daniel Sutton's book *The Inoculator, or Suttonian System of Inoculation*, was first published in 1769, the year BR began to practise in Philadelphia.

[3] Francis Alison, D.D., 1705-1779, Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was also assistant pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Earlier in his career he conducted a school at New London, Chester Co., Pennsylvania.

[4] William Marshall, ca.1740-1802, who later attained prominence as a Presbyterian minister, began to preach in Philadelphia in 1769, holding his meetings at first in a store (Sprague). See BR's characterization of him at the time of his death, p. 312.

To counteract all these efforts of my own and of others to acquire business in my profession, several of the old and established physicians of the city became unfriendly to me in consequence of my having broached some parts of Dr. Cullen's System of medicine in my lectures. This System was built upon the ruins of Dr. Boerhaave's, which was then the only prevailing system of medical principles and practice in America.[7] I do not recollect in the course of the first seven years of my settlement in Philadelphia that any one of my brethren ever sent a patient to me, and yet several of them had more applications daily than they were able to attend to. The system of Dr. Cullen was calumniated and even ridiculed in the newspapers with my name connected with it. Perhaps my manner of recommending it provoked this opposition, for I know by experience as well as observation that an indiscreet zeal for truth, justice, or humanity has cost more to the persons who have exercised it, than the total want of zeal for any thing good, or even zeal in false and unjust pursuits. One of the physicians of the city I remember complained in severe terms of my having given at my table in the presence of a number of students of physic, the following toast, "Speedy interment of the System of Dr. Boerhaave, and may it never rise again."

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[5] David McMurtrie was entered in BR's Index of Accounts (Rush mss.) as a patient in 1770-1776.

[6] The Philadelphia *Directory* of 1785 lists a Mrs. Patton, midwife, Norris's Alley between Front and Second Streets. We learn from other references to Mrs. Patten, (pp. 176-177), that she was born about 1731, and that in 1789 she moved from Philadelphia to Charleston for reasons of health.

[7] See Appendix 1, Rush's Medical Theories.

However unpopular and offensive the System of Dr. Cullen was when first broached by me, I lived to see it adopted by all the physicians who had opposed it; nay more, I lived to see it adhered to and defended with great obstinacy when an attempt was made to alter and improve it twenty years afterwards.

In the year 1770 I published in the news paper some observations upon the Cynanche trachialis, called at that time in our city by the name of *Hives*.[8] In this publication I adopted a new opinion of the proximate cause of that disease. I supposed it might exist in the windpipe from a spasm, without any secretion of mucus, or the formation of a membrane. This opinion has been confirmed by many dissections.[9] In 1771 I published three essays with the title of "Sermons to Gentlemen upon Temperance and Exercise," without my name.[10] They were well received before it was known who was the author of them. I heard of a physician who commended them in high terms when he believed they were written by another person, and abused them as extravagantly when he discovered that they came from my pen.

In the year 1771 or 1772 a petition was circulated to the legislature praying them to encrease the duty upon negro slaves imported into the province. To aid this petition I published an "Address to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies upon Slavekeeping" in which I endeavoured to shew the iniquity of the slave trade.[11] A reply was published to this address by a Mr. Nesbit,[12] from the Island of Nevis, which drew from me a vindication of my address in a pamphlet of [54] pages.[13] This publication had an extensive publication, and I believe did some good in removing several errors and prejudices upon the subject of domestic slavery, but it did me harm, by exciting the resentment of many slaveholders against me. It injured me in another way, by giving rise to an opinion that I had meddled with a controversy that was foreign to my business. I now found that a physician's studies and duties were to be limited by the public, and that he was destined to walk in a path as contracted as the most humble and dependent mechanic. The influence of these publications was but transitory upon my business. It continued to encrease, so that in the year 1775 it was worth about £900 a year, Pennsylvania currency.

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[8] The original publication in a newspaper has not been found. BR afterwards printed in his *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, vol. 2, a 4-page article on Cynanche trachealis which is presumably the same essay or a revised version of it.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, use of the word "hives" to mean croup is still current in England. BR states that the word is derived from "heaves" and refers to the heaving action of the lungs.

[9] This is correct, for fatal illness with croup as a chief symptom, though usually due to diphtheria, may also be due to other microorganisms producing acute tracheobronchitis and in such event will not exhibit at post-mortem a diphtheritic membrane in the larynx.

[10] *Sermons to Gentlemen on Temperance and Exercise*, Philadelphia, 1772.

From the time of my settlement in Philadelphia in 1769 'till 1775 I led a life of constant labor and self-denial. My shop was crowded with the poor in the morning and at meal times, and nearly every street and alley in the city was visited by me every day. There are few old huts now standing in the ancient parts of the city in which I have not attended sick people. Often have I ascended the upper story of these huts by a ladder, and many hundred times have been obliged to rest my weary limbs upon the bedside of the sick (from the want of chairs) where I was sure I risqued not only taking their disease but being infected by vermin. More than once did I suffer from the latter. Nor did I hasten from these abodes of poverty and misery. Where no other help was attainable, I have often remained in them long eno' to administer my prescriptions, particularly bleeding and glysters, with my own hands. I review these scenes with heartfelt pleasure. I believed at the time that they would not lose their reward. "Take care of him, and I will repay thee"[14] were words which I have repeated a thousand times to myself in leaving the rooms of this class of sick people. Nor have I been disappointed. Here therefore will I set my seal to the truth of the divine promises to such acts of duty. To His goodness in accepting my services to His poor children I ascribe the innumerable blessings of my life; nay more, my life itself. A fact which induced a belief in this opinion shall be mentioned in its proper place.

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[11] *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slave-keeping*, Philadelphia, 1773.

[12] This Richard Nesbit (or Nisbet) had a strange and pathetic career. Born in England and educated at Oxford, he emigrated to St. Kitts-Nevis, went into business and married a local woman, Frances Clifton, who is said to have been beautiful and intelligent. BR's wording "*from* the island of Nevis" and the fact that Nesbit's pamphlet *Slavery not Forbidden by Scripture*, 1773, was printed in Philadelphia, suggest that he may have visited the U.S. at this period of his life. When his business in St. Kitts failed, he returned to England to study for the church, but would not accept ordination because of theological scruples. Returning to St. Kitts, he studied and practised law. Nesbit took a deep interest in the welfare of the Negro slaves, and gave lectures to groups of them. These are included in his pamphlet of 1789 (London) *On the Capacity of Negroes for Moral and Religious Improvement.* He either grew weary of the law, or was forced out because of his liberality to the slaves, and went to Philadelphia, where he became a conveyancer. He is listed in the Philadelphia *Directories* for 1799 and 1800. He soon moved, however, to Wilmington, Del., where he kept a store, shortly becoming insolvent. The next thing he tried was farming, but in this also he was unsuccessful. Finally his instability developed into insanity and he was committed to the Pennsylvania Hospital. BR must often have seen his old pamphleteering adversary there. Nesbit's wife supported herself and six children by school teaching. Samuel Coates took a great interest in Nesbit, and not only wrote down much of the foregoing story, but also copied several of Nesbit's poems and some of his insane fantasies. Unfortunately Coates recorded no dates. (Samuel Coates, Manuscript Notebook of cases of insanity, preserved at the Pennsylvania Hospital; see Morton for excerpts. L. J. Ragatz, *A Guide for the Study of British-Caribbean History*, 1763-1834, vol. 3 of Ann. Rep. Am. Hist. Assoc. for 1932, Washington, 1932).

[13] *A Vindication of the Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements, on the Slavery of the Negroes in America, in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled, Slavery not forbidden by Scripture, or a Defence of the West-India Planters from the Aspersions thrown out against them by the Author of that Address.* By a Pennsylvanian. Philadelphia, 1773.

If I have rendered any services to my fellow citizens, or added any facts or principles to that part of the science of medicine which relates to Epidemics, I owe both to the knowledge I acquired by my familiarity with diseases among the poor, in whom they appear early, and in a simple state. To my unfettered prescriptions in their diseases I owe likewise much of my knowledge of the doses and effects of medicines.

While my days were thus employed in business, my evenings were devoted to study. I seldom went to bed before 12 o'clock, and many many times have I heard the watchmen cry 3 o'clock before I have put out my candle. I recollect when I began to feel languid or sleepy at late or early hours, I used to excite my mind by encreasing the heat and blaze of my fire in winter, or by exposing myself a few minutes in a balcony which projected over Water street from my back parlour in Front street near Walnut Street, where I resided 'till the year 1780 after living but a few months in the house in which I first settled.

During the interval between 1769 and 1774 I kept but little company. Now and then I gave a dinner or a supper to a stranger, and to a few young merchants in my neighbourhood. They were Scotchmen, and some of them possessed Education and Sentiment. I mixed freely in female Society, and occasionally spent afternoons in the company of ladies upon parties of pleasure both in town and in the country.[15]

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[14] From the parable of the good Samaritan, Luke x, 35.

By the persons who called themselves great in the city, I was at this time neglected, or unknown. But this produced no depression in my spirits, nor weakness in my exertions to advance myself in my profession. I had examined the usual issue of years of industry in other people in circumstances similar to my own. I believed that a more easy situation was before me, and therefore bore the insolence of office, and the proud man's contumely in silence. In another place I shall mention my accepting a medical appointment in the military hospitals of the United States in the month of April 1777, and the causes that induced me to resign it on the 30th of January 1778.

I carried with me into private practice a good deal of knowledge acquired in the military hospitals. It was there I learned the safety and advantages of giving opium in low fevers, and of adding other stimulants to opium in the treatment of the Locked Jaw. My business from this time was extensive, but less profitable than it should have been, from being obliged to receive the payment of my bills in paper money which frequently depreciated 200 and 300 per cent below their value at the time they were delivered to my patients. In the autumn of 1780 I was attacked by the prevailing epidemic of that season known and described by the name of the break bone fever.[16] It yielded in a few days to an emetic and the Bark. Upon my recovery from this fever and before I had left my room, I dreamed that a poor woman came to me just as I was getting into my chair in Penn Street, and begged me to visit her husband. I told her hastily, that I was worn out in attending poor people, and requested her to apply to another Doctor. "O! Sir (said she, lifting up her hands) you don't know how much you owe to your poor patients. It was decreed that you should die by the fever which lately attacked you, but the prayers of your poor patients ascended to heaven in your behalf, and your life is prolonged only upon their account." This answer affected me so much that I awoke in tears. I have been as little disposed to superstition as most men, and have often exposed the folly of being influenced by dreams, by explaining their cause by obvious physical principles. The dream I have related left a deep and lasting impression upon my mind. It encreased my disposition to attend the poor, and never, when I could not serve them, to treat them in an uncivil manner. In order to relieve myself from the pressure of too much business, and to assist me in the care of the poor, I took one of my pupils Dr. James Hall,[17] into partnership with me in the month of   . He had previously spent 15 months in attending lectures in London and the practice of the St. Thomas hospital. This connection was the more necessary, as frequent attacks of a pulmonary affection rendered it unsafe for me to go out in the night and bad weather. It would have answered the design intended by it, had it not been represented by some of my medical brethren as a preparatory measure to my declining business and devoting myself exclusively to public pursuits. This partnership, instead of encreasing, lessened my business. Its dissolution was hastened by Dr. Hall's marriage to Miss Hartley and subsequent settlement in Yorktown in 178[7?].

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[15] In this document written for his children BR did not choose to mention his courtship of Sarah Eve in 1773-1774 and their engagement of marriage, which was terminated by her death in December of the latter year (Goodman).

[16] From BR's excellent description ("An Account of the Bilious Remitting Fever, as it appeared in Philadelphia in the Summer and Autumn of the Year, 1780," in *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, first published separately in 1789, at Philadelphia) it is clear that this was dengue fever, a virus disease transmitted by mosquitoes, still endemic in the tropics and occasionally epidemic. The popular name "break bone fever" seems to have appeared first in print in BR's account of 1789.

In the year 1779 I opened a book and recorded in it an account of the diseases of every season, and frequently of every month in the year, together with a history of the weather and the state of vegetation. I have continued this register every year since, and have derived great advantages from it in my studies and practice.[18]

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[17] James Hall, BR's "old and once valued pupil" who was his partner for a time, was not a blood relative of BR, although he calls the latter "kinsman" in his letters. He was a member of the Hall family of Cecil County, Maryland. Christopher Johnson, "The Hall Family of Calvert County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1913, VIII, says that he was a son of Elihu Hall, ca. 1724-1790, proprietor of Mt. Welcome, and brother of the Elisha Hall, 1723?-1757, who married BR's maternal aunt Ruth Hall. If the confusing family of the Cecil County Halls has thus been correctly traced, BR and his wife would have known James Hall in 1776-1777 when Julia Rush went to live with the family of his first cousin Col. Elihu Hall at the time Philadelphia was threatened by the British. He appears in the manuscript list of BR's apprentices under date of 1779 as "James Hall of Maryland." He went to London to complete his studies, and was there from June 1783 to April 1784 (letters in the Rush mss. at the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia), and returned to be BR's partner. The date of dissolution of the partnership, left incomplete by BR, was supplied in the ms. fair copy of 1814 to read 1785, but this is not compatible with BR's statement (see p. 311, below) that Hall lived eight years in the Rush household. Hall actually left BR on June 27, 1787. The parting is poignantly described by BR in a letter to Mrs. Rush, June 27-28, 1787 (ms. owned by Gordon A. Block, Jr., Philadelphia, to be printed in LHB, *Rush Letters*). Hall married a daughter of Col. Thomas Hartley of York, Pa. (1748-1800; see DAB) a Revolutionary soldier, lawyer, and politician (W. J. Carter and A. J. Glossbrenner, *History of York County, Pennsylvania*, York, 1834). He afterward returned to Philadelphia, probably after 1794, and became physician to the Lazaretto. According to Condie and Folwell, *History of the Pestilence, Commonly called Yellow Fever*, Philadelphia, 1798, he was physician to the marine hospital (Lazaretto) in that year. He was port physician, 1799-1800 (Martin, *Bench and Bar*). He died at the Lazaretto, as a result of dissipation, according to BR, Sept. 17, 1801 (see p. 257, below). For a brief characterization by BR see p. 311.

For many years after I settled in Philadelphia I was regulated in my practice by the System of medicine which I had learned from the lectures and publications of Dr. Cullen. But time, observations and reflection convinced me that it was imperfect and erroneous in many of its parts. The discovery of its imperfections and errors produced a languor in my mind in discharging the duties of my profession, and a wish at times to relinquish it. In some diseases my practice was regulated by theory, but in others it was altogether empirical. I read, I thought, and I observed upon the phenomena of diseases, but for a while without discovering any thing that satisfied me. The weight of Dr. Cullen's name depressed me every time I ventured to admit an idea that militated against his System. At length a few rays of light broke in upon my mind upon several diseases.[19] These were communicated first to my pupils, in my lectures, and afterwards to the public, in a volume of observations and inquiries in the year 1786.[20] In the year 1789 I was chosen successor to Dr. Morgan in the chair of the theory and practice of physic in the College of Philadelphia. It now became my duty to deliver a System of principles in medicine. After much study and inquietude both by day and night, I was gradually led to adopt those which I have since taught, from my professor's chair and the press. The leading principle of my System was obtruded upon me suddenly while I was walking the floor of my study. It was like a ferment introduced into my mind. It produced in it a constant endless succession of decompositions and new arrangements of facts and ideas upon medical subjects. I was much assisted in the application of the principles that had occurred to me, by conversing with my pupils. Their questions and objections suggested many hints to me which enabled me to fortify my principles where they were weak, and to extend them to new diseases. Dr. Brown's System of medicine, which was published about this time, assisted me likewise a good deal in my inquiries. I adopted some of his terms in the new nomenclature of my principles. From this circumstance, superficial readers have supposed that his System and mine are the same. Several of my opinions were upon record in my publications before the name of Dr. Brown was known in America, as a teacher of medicine, and many more of them are as much opposed to his System as they are to that of Dr. Cullen.

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[18] Mr. L. H. Butterfield reports having seen at the Library Company of Philadelphia one volume of this series, for the year 1790. Apparently no others exist.

[19] See Appendix 1, Rush's Medical Theories.

[20] Apparently an error for 1789, when the first volume of *Medical Inquiries and Observations* appeared.

The System I adopted was not merely a speculative one. It led to important changes in the practice of medicine. Where it did not suggest new remedies, it led to circumstances in the exhibition of old ones, which determined their safety and success. My practice from this time became much more successful than it had been before, and I experienced a pleasure in it which reconciled me to all its toils, and caused me to rejoice in those acts of providence which had originally diverted and restrained my studies to medicine.

In the innovations which I at this time attempted, I was not actuated by ambition, or a desire of being the Founder of a new sect of physicians. It was always one of my numerous weaknesses to hold great men in too much veneration, and no one in greater, than my master Dr. Cullen. I was at first passive in my new opinions, and when I indulged them I as little expected their tendency and prevalence, as I now do to end my days at Lambeth in possession of the See of Canterbury.

It is not to him that willeth, nor to him that runneth, but to the overruling hand of Heaven alone that we are to look for the successful issue of all human actions whether of body or mind.

Humble and unworthy instruments are often employed in promoting the physical as well as moral happiness of mankind in order to confound the splendor of those external circumstances which attract and fix the esteem of the world.

The propagation of my new opinions had an immediate influence upon my business. It lessened it by precluding me from consultations, for most of my brethren in Philadelphia were devoted to Dr. Cullen's System of medicine, and opposed to the least deviation from it. It would be improper to ascribe my exclusion from consultations wholly to the influence of my new opinions. The part I took in favor of my country in the American Revolution had left prejudices in the minds of the most wealthy citizens of Philadelphia against me, for a great majority of them had been loyalists in principle or conduct. It was said, my meddling with politicks was their reason for not confiding their health or lives to my care. This was not true, for the same people had upon former occasions given a lucrative establishment by their patronage to physicians who had been exclusively devoted to politicks or other pursuits equally foreign to medicine, but these physicians thought and acted with them in matters that related to liberty and government. Other things contributed to offend my medical brethren besides the novelty of my opinions and practice. I had declared medicine to be a science so simple that two years study, instead of five or more, were sufficient to understand all that was true and practical in it. I had rejected a great number of medicines as useless, and had limited the materia medica to 15 or 20 articles, and in order to strip medicine still further of its imposture I had borne testimony against enveloping it in mystery or secrecy by Latin prescriptions, and by publishing inaugural dissertations in the Latin language in the medical School of Philadelphia. In the latter, I was so happy as to be completely successful.

In a city of the size of Philadelphia there will always be a great number of men who neither read nor think upon medical subjects, and there will also be a few who both read and think for themselves. Neither of these classes have prejudices, and of these, in addition to strangers who were directed to me by physicians in other States and the West Indies, were my patients wholly composed. They formed, when united, a large body, and rendered my business more extensive for many years than any physician's in the city. The Institution of the Dispensary[21] in 178[6] reduced the number of my patients by a fourth, but still I had constant employment.

I remarked in the account of my residence in Edinburgh that the rejection of the political principles in which I had been educated, and the adoption of republican principles, had acted like a ferment in my mind, and had led me to try the foundations of my opinions upon many other subjects as well as that of government. To the activity induced in my faculties by the evolution of my republican principles by the part I took in the American Revolution, I ascribe in a great measure the disorganization of my old principles in medicine. The same republican ferment produced similar commotions and I hope a similar precipitation of the feculencies of error, upon the subjects of education, penal laws and capital punishments, upon each of which I published a number of essays in the American Museum, the Columbian Magazine, and other periodical works. A selection of them has since been published in an octavo volume by Samuel Bradford of Philadelphia.[22]

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[21] The Philadelphia Dispensary for medical relief of the poor, first of its kind in the U.S., begun in 1786, in Strawberry Alley. BR was its chief promoter and contributed his services to it for many years (Goodman).

My opinions upon the latter subjects subjected me to some abuse and ridicule in the public news papers. I met with but three persons in Philadelphia who agreed with me in denying the right of human laws over human life, when my publication against capital punishments first made its appearance, but in less than two years I had the satisfaction of observing that opinion to be adopted by many hundred people, more especially among the Society of the Friends.

But I did not content myself by merely attacking old errors and prejudices from the press. I assisted in the institution of Societies to carry them into effect. I was likewise for a while an active member of several Societies whose objects were altogether of a humane nature. They were the Society for the gradual abolition of slavery, the Prison and the Humane Societies.[23] I likewise assisted in forming the constitution of the College of Physicians, and was for a while a punctual member of it.

I was often asked how I found time to do my business, compose lectures, answer letters, write for the press, and attend so many different Societies. I shall now answer that question.

1. I never went out of my house in a morning before 9, ½ 9, and sometimes 10 o'clock except called by a sudden indisposition, or by a consultation at an earlier hour. By this means I received all new applications so as to arrange them with the business of the morning.

2. I lost no time in my own house. The scraps of time which interposed between the hour I returned from visiting my patients and the times of eating, I spent in light reading, or answering letters, or such pieces of business as required but little abstraction of mind. The evenings from 7, 8 or 9 o'clock when not engaged in business or company were always spent in study, sometimes in the same room with my wife and children, but latterly in a room appropriated to my use. I seldom left it 'till 11 or 12 o'clock at night.

3. After the year 1789 I rarely dined, or spent an evening, out of my own house.

[22] *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, Philadelphia, 1798.

[23] The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage, founded in 1774, reorganized in 1787. The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, organized in 1787. The Philadelphia Humane Society (primarily for the resuscitation of drowned persons) founded in 1780. This is by no means a complete list of the philanthropic organizations BR helped to start.

4. I derived rest from fatigue in reading, by writing, and from writing by reading, so as to require no other relaxation of body or mind for many hours. I likewise varied my studies, by which means no one of them ever palled, and I think I preserved my mind in a more pointed state by this practice, to every study. I learned it from Ruisseau's history of his life.[24]

5. By visiting my patients in a carriage, I lost but little time out of doors. I was carried to them with more quickness, and was less liable to interruptions and delays in the streets than when I visited them on foot.

6. As I advanced in years I became more frugal of my time. To a young lady who was misspending her time, I once said I would willingly give a dollar, were it possible, for every hour she could not employ, and often have I, when thinking of the lost hours of my youth, wished for "one ten thousandth of those hours that did no work" (Shakespear's Henry IV)[25] or that produced no fruits of study, when I was a young man.

7. I obviated the usual effect of hot weather, in producing an inability to read, and thereby a waste of time, by spending the hot months in writing for the press. The greater exertion necessary to compose, then to read, always obviated sleepiness. It had the same effect upon me after dinner and late at night.

Many new ideas occurred to me when riding, walking, or between the times of my waking and leaving my bed in the morning. I made it a practice to commit them to paper with a pencil when absent from home. In sickness, and in the convalescence from fever, many new ideas were likewise obtruded upon my mind. In writing it was likewise invigorated, so much so that I have more than once relinquished an opinion I sat down to defend, and embraced the one that was opposed to it. Conversation often suggested new views of subjects, even with persons who knew less of them than myself. But teaching was the principal means of encreasing new combinations in my mind. They frequently occurred in my Chair, and were delivered extempore to my pupils. The nature of my profession prevented my trying the effects of Solitude upon my intellectual faculties, but the few fortuitous experiments that I made, gave me no reason to expect any thing from it, for I do not recollect ever acquiring a single new idea by sitting still and doing nothing in my study.

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[24] i.e. the *Confessions* of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1782).

[25] Misquoted from Henry V, "O that we now had here But one ten thousand of those men in England That do no work today!" (IV, iii, 17-19.)

In acquiring knowledge I did not depend exclusively upon books. I made, as far as was in my power, every person I conversed with contribute to my improvement. I was visited by many literary strangers, and I kept up a constant intercourse with several of the most distinguished philosophical characters who resided in, or occasionally visited Philadelphia. As I wished to be correct in the knowledge I acquired by conversation, I made it a practice to record it in a book kept for that purpose, after the manner (as I supposed) of Mr. Boyle. By thus committing it to paper, I was able to use it more confidently in my lectures, and publications. I shall here insert a specimen of the manner in which the knowledge picked up in this way was preserved.

[*Editor's note*: All but two of the passages inserted by Rush at this point, to illustrate his habit of writing down interesting conversations, were copied from the Commonplace Books published herewith. All are printed in their proper chronological place elsewhere in this volume as indicated, and the persons named are there identified.]

1786, September 23. Conversation with Dr. Franklin about the plague in Turkey. This passage appears to have been copied into "Travels Through Life" from some earlier notebook (p. 173).

1790, June 2. Part of the conversation with the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, about the time of flowering of plants (p. 185).

1791, October 7. Conversation with Mr. Stewart of London, a world traveller, about his personal hygienic regime; about the habits of the Turks; and about education (p. 209).

1791, October 8. Mr. Stewart about the horrors of the Hindu religion and the manners of the Laplanders (p. 210).

1791, May 2. Mr. Michaux, the French botanist, on the grasses and fruits of Persia (p. 220).

1793, January 24. Mr. Blanchard, the balloonist, about his discomforts at high altitudes (p. 304).

1793, April 17. Dr. Van Rohr from St. Croix, on the truth of the report that the flesh of the lizard is a cure for leprosy in Spanish America (p. 304).

1793, August 7. Report of the surgeon of "Il Constante," an India ship, of the remarkable health of the crew during a recent voyage (p. 305).

1794, February 10. Facts communicated by Dr. Johnson, who practised physic 14 years in the East Indies, about the effects of the moon upon fevers; the advantages of a vegetable diet as used by the

Brahmins; the Brahmins' complaint of the bad breath of Europeans; the use of grass roots as food for horses by the Arabs; their cure of stumbling horses by blindfolding them; the absence of ill effects from the smell of putrefaction in the Parsee method of disposal of the dead; his own comfortable experiences of an earth bath of 8 hours' duration; the inheritance of hair color and other features in marriages of Danes and other northmen with East India women (p. 305).

1794, February 9. Conversation with Mr. Volney. His appearance, deportment, and remarks, especially on the defensibility of suicide under certain circumstances (p. 241).

1798, July. Talks with a Dr. Scandella (p. 242).

1791, August 25. Mr. Rittenhouse relates a conversation with Dr. Franklin about religion (p. 208).

1790, January. Talks with Andrew Ellicot about Niagara Falls (p. 180).

1790, March 17. Mr. Jefferson on the differences between the animals of America and of Europe; his regard for republican forms of government; the merits of Mr. Madison (p. 181).

1791, May 13. Mr. Jefferson on the olive tree and willow in France, on the climate of France, and on the advantages of a good climate in general (p. 194).

I have thus selected a few of the facts and opinions communicated to me in conversation. It would be easy for me to fill a volume with similar extracts from conversations with persons of less note than those I have mentioned, particularly with physicians from the East and West Indies, and from different parts of the United States.

In reading borrowed books, I always made extracts from them, and marked down references to the pages of my own books in my common place book. As soon as I determined to publish upon any subject, I opened a head for it, and set down all such facts and thoughts as were related to it, that occurred to me in reading, conversation and reflection.

In the year 178- [actually 1791] a union took place between the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania, in consequence of which the annihilation of the professorship of the theory and practice of Physic which I held became necessary. Dr.

Adam Kuhn[26] was chosen my successor, and I was elected Professor of the Institutes of medicine,[27] and of clinical practice. The cases which were to furnish material for clinical lectures were to be selected from the Pennsylvania hospital. I accepted my new appointment with great diffidence, and considered it for a while as a sacrifice of interest and reputation to a desire of promoting harmony among the Professors of medicine. I had neglected no part of my former studies so much as Physiology, and I well knew the difficulties and controversies which hung over that science. There were but six weeks between my appointment and the time in which the lectures usually commenced, and those weeks being in the autumnal months were generally the most sickly and busy part of the year. I began to prepare for the duties of my new Professorship by reading Boerhaave, Dr. Haller, Hunter, Gregory, Cullen's manuscript lectures, and many small tracts upon physiological subjects. From none of them did I derive so many useful hints as from Dr. Hartley's treatise upon the frame of man.[28] About a week before the meeting of the classes, I sat down to compose my lectures, and during the winter in the midst of constant business, I finished and delivered a course of lectures upon the Institutes of medicine. Never before had I stretched my faculties to such an extent. I slept but little, and lived sparingly during this severe paroxysm of bodily and mental exertion. My lectures were well received by my pupils,[29] particularly those upon animal life, which were published at the request of successive classes in the year 1799.[30] My visits to the hospital at this time were more frequent than in former winters. This became necessary in order to prepare for my clinical lectures, which were delivered in the University twice a week.

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[26] Adam Kuhn, 1741-1817, was born at Germantown, Pa., studied at Upsala, where he was a pupil of Linnaeus, and took his M.D. in 1767. Upon his return to America in 1768 he was made professor of botany in the College of Philadelphia. He was physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital for many years and was president of the College of Physicians in 1808. In view of the bitter antagonism between Kuhn and BR, it is a pity that very little information about his medical opinions has been preserved. Charles Caldwell, in his *Autobiography*, 1815, gives a very amusing account of Kuhn which suggests that he was a good scholar but an old-fashioned man of inelastic mind and a literal follower of Cullen's theories.

[27] "The institutes of medicine" meant lecture-room instruction in the theory, as contrasted with the practice of internal medicine. It was chiefly theoretical physiology and pathology, discussed as background for diagnosis and treatment.

[28] David Hartley, 1705-1757, in his *Observations on Man*, London, 1749, was the first philosopher to attempt an explanation of psychological phenomena in terms of physiology (DNB). His views greatly influenced BR (see I. Woodbridge Riley, "Benjamin Rush as Materialist and Realist," *Bulletin of Johns Hopkins Hospital*, XVIII, 1907, 89).

[29] There is a long and interesting, though at times jaundiced description of BR as a medical professor, from 1792 to the time of his death, in the *Autobiography of Charles Caldwell*, Philadelphia, 1855. Caldwell agrees with the usual statements of BR's pupils that his lectures were carefully prepared, eloquent and interesting. He says that BR, though not a good extempore speaker, was one of the best public readers he had ever heard. He adds that BR surpassed any other teacher he had ever known,

From the year 1789 to the year 1793 my business encreased in extent and profit, more especially among strangers. My lectures commanded an encreasing class. Having relinquished public pursuits, I led a retired life, associating chiefly with my patients and a few literary friends.[31] I kept up a slender intercourse with public men. I visited the President of the United States but once and never heard a single speech in the Senate or House of Representatives during the residence of either of them in Philadelphia. I ceased to read such parts of the news papers of our city as contained an account of the affairs of our country. By thus keeping myself ignorant, I kept myself indifferent to all the measures which agitated and divided the United States during the memorable years in which the government was administered by Genl. Washington and Mr. Adams.[32] The patronage of the principal officers of the general government was given to Dr. Jones[33] and afterwards to Dr. Kuhn. Upon one question I was always decided; that was in favor of the Republican form of the constitution of the United States.[34]

Thus employed, I met the epidemic of the year 1793. The lapse of years has not much lessened the painful recollection of the events

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in his gift for winning the enthusiastic attachment of his students to the profession of medicine.

[30] *Three Lectures on Animal Life, delivered in the University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1799.

[31] In the manuscript the rest of this paragraph, after "a few friends," was marked for deletion by BR himself. The reader will understand that this period of political inactivity is mentioned in contrast to BR's activity in national and state affairs in 1775-1789. Mr. L. H. Butterfield remarks (personal communication) that BR overstates his indifference to political issues. Although he did not write or campaign for any candidate for office after the revision of the Pennsylvania Constitution in 1790, he frequently discussed international, national and state politics in his letters, especially in those to John Adams.

[32] Washington's term of office was 1789-1797; John Adams's 1797-1801.

[33] John Jones, 1729-1791, surgeon trained in England and France, served in the French and Indian War and became professor of surgery in the College of New York. He moved to Philadelphia in connection with his duties as an organizer of the medical department of the Revolutionary army and was made one of the physicians to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He attended George Washington in 1790 and was Franklin's doctor in his last illness. For a highly favorable characterization of him by BR, who considered him the best surgeon in the country, see pp. 200-201.

[34] BR is here apparently stating something more than merely that he favored republican as against monarchist government; he is saying that he belonged to the Republican (i.e. Democratic Republican) party, opposed to Hamilton and the Federalists.

of that melancholy year. I have described them as far as they relate to myself in a narrative of the state of my body and mind during the prevalence of the fever, which is subjoined to my account of it.[35] I shall pass on to mention events which are only hinted at in that narrative, and which have been followed with important consequences in the sequel of my life.

My new opinions and practice in medicine had for many years before 1793 produced a great deal of secret hostility to me in many of my brethren. It discovered itself, I have said, in their opposition to my being called into consultation with them. It appeared likewise in the business of the College of Physicians. One of my brethren discovered his enmity to me in constant efforts to dissuade the students of medicine from attending my lectures. The success which attended the remedies which it pleased God to make me the instrument of introducing into general practice in the treatment of the fever of 1793 produced a sudden combination of all who had been either publickly or privately my enemies, and the most violent and undisguised exertions to oppose and discredit those remedies. Dr. [Kuhn][36] led the van in a publication against them. It was followed by many others from practitioners of less note. The influence of these publications threatened the depopulation of the city. For a while I opposed them with gentleness in private conferences with my brethren in the streets, and in several friendly and respectful communications to the College of Physicians. It was all to no purpose. The sudden encrease of my business, and the public effusions of gratitude which issued from many persons who ascribed the preservation of their lives to my remedies, produced fresh acts of hostility against me. I saw marks of the most inveterate malice in their conduct, but I saw what vexed and distressed me much more, and that was marks of ignorance of the most common and obvious facts and principles in Epidemicks. Never did I feel less unkindness to a fellow creature than at this time. I considered myself as destined to the Hearse, and ambition of course held forth no prospects of future advantages from a victory in a contest with my brethren. No, citizens of Philadelphia, it was for your sakes only I opposed their errors and prejudices, and to this opposition many thousand people owed their lives. Had I consulted my own interest or reputation I would have concealed my remedies, instead of communicating an account of them to the apothecaries who derived large sums of money from the sale of them. Much less would I have endeavoured to teach the people to cure themselves by my publications in the news papers, after they were deserted by their family physicians.

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[35] This poignant document is appended to *An Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever, as it Appeared in the City of Philadelphia, in the year 1793* (published first in 1794) as reprinted in *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, III, Philadelphia, 3rd ed., 1809. There is a second and more intimate personal record of these months in BR's letters to his wife (who was out of town with the younger children, Aug. 21 to Nov. 12, 1793) which were privately printed in 1892 by Alexander Biddle, under the title *Old Family Letters Relating to Yellow Fever*. They vividly reflect the mental state of the sensitive, high-strung physician, overworked to the verge of collapse, desperately fighting the disease that was killing half his friends. His sister, Rebecca Wallace, who remained in the city to keep house for him, took the infection and died. His five apprentices worked as bravely as himself; all of them were infected and three of them gave their lives. These heroic young men—they were only nineteen and twenty years of age—were Warner Washington of Virginia (died), John Stall of Pennsylvania (died), John Alston of South Carolina (died), Edward Fisher of Virginia, John Redman Coxe of Pennsylvania.

For a good brief account of the great epidemic, see W. S. Middleton, "The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793 in Philadelphia," in *Annals of Medical History*, x, 1928.

[36] BR wrote "Dr. Kuhn" in the manuscript and afterward struck a line through the name. The publication to which BR refers appeared over Kuhn's initials in the *General Advertiser* of Sept. 11, 1793.

In reviewing my conduct upon this occasion, I have examined its motives with leisure and severity, and have not been able to encriminate myself. I condemn myself only for some harsh expressions which I made use of in speaking of their conduct and practice. The occasion will palliate, if it does not justify them. I was contending with the most criminal ignorance, and the object of the contest was the preservation of a city.[37]

The most offensive thing I did to my brethren was refusing to consult with them. This was an effect of a painful sense of duty to the sick, who are always the sufferers or sacrifices by consultations between physicians of opposite principles and practice. I had often before the year 1793 seen and deplored their consequences, without daring to object to them. At this time I was impressed with a more affecting sense of their folly and wickedness, and to my independence in refusing any longer to submit to them, I owe the rapidity with which I ripened and established my mode of practice.

To prevent the recurrence of the fever, I early pointed out its domestic origin. In this opinion I was opposed by nearly the whole College of Physicians, who derived it from a foreign country, and who believed it to be a specific disease. They were followed by nearly all the citizens of Philadelphia.[38]

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[37] Caldwell (*Autobiography*) tells us that some of the doctors, impressed by the irritability and truculence which BR showed in those trying weeks and which still appear in these pages written eight years later, spread a rumor that he was mentally deranged. The letters to his wife, mentioned in note 35 above, would suffice to dispel any such gossip. They reveal a tired, overwrought man, jealous of his theories and incapable of self-criticism, but certainly not deranged.

Soon after the fever left the city, I dissolved my connection with the College of Physicians. It had long been disagreeable to me, and I derived no improvement from it equal to the time my attendance upon its meetings consumed. The leading members of it had moreover now become my open enemies. I accompanied my resignation with the following letter to Dr. Redman, the President of the College.

> *Dear Sir:*
>
> I beg you would convey by means of this letter my resignation of my fellowship in the College of Physicians.
>
> I request at the same time their acceptance of a copy of Dr. Wallis's edition of the works of Dr. Sydenham.
>
> With the tenderest sentiments of respect for yourself, I am, Dear Sir, your sincere friend, and the College's well wisher,
>
> BENJN. RUSH
>
> 5th Novemr. 1793.

I intended, by the present of Dr. Sydenham's works, to convey to the College a defense of the principles which had regulated my practice in the yellow fever, and a rebuke of the ignorance of many of the members of the College, of the most common laws of Epidemicks which are recorded in almost every page of that author.[39]

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[38] A clear and sympathetic explanation from the modern vantage point, of the scientific problems and contentions with which BR was so bitterly concerned, is given by C.-E.A. Winslow in *The Conquest of Epidemic Disease; A Chapter in the History of Ideas*, Princeton, 1943, chapter XI, "The Enigma of Yellow Fever." The first question at issue between BR and his opponents concerned the origin of the fever. Most of the Philadelphia doctors thought that the disease was imported from the West Indies; BR thought it arose locally, from miasmata produced by decaying vegetable matter in wet and marshy places. Intensely practical problems were thus raised. BR wanted local sanitation above all; his opponents wanted quarantine. There was truth on both sides. The infection, as we now know, was indeed imported, but the means of its transmission (i.e. the Aedes mosquito) was local. The preventive measures suggested by both groups were needed.

The question of the contagiousness of the fever was also sharply argued, that is to say, whether it passed from person to person by direct contact, like smallpox, or was transmitted by some outside influence, a miasma for example. At first BR was a strong supporter of contagion, but later he completely changed his opinion on this point.

The third point of contention had to do with the treatment. BR's theory of febrile disease in general (see Appendix 1) led him to treat yellow fever by drastic blood-letting and severe purges with jalap and calomel. It must be said in his favor that he took his own medicine from his pupil Edward Fisher when he himself was stricken.

[39] In particular, Sydenham taught that epidemics occur only when a certain particular constitution of the atmosphere exists. This teaching supported BR's view that the yellow fever was of local origin.

A number of cases of the yellow fever occurred in the summer and autumn of 1794, and a few in the same seasons in 1795 and 1796. In order to direct the attention of our citizens to its only cause and remedies, I conceived it to be my duty to call all the cases of that fever which came under my notice by its unpopular name. This well-meant and proper conduct exposed me to many unkind and cruel reflections by my fellow citizens. They were stimulated to them by several of the physicians who held a contrary opinion to mine of the origin of the disease.

In the year 1797 the yellow fever became again Epidemic. During the two preceeding years, an intercourse had been revived between two of the physicians whom I had offended by not consulting with them in 1793, and we had attended several patients together with harmony and success. To a third, whom I had offended, I had made overtures of reconciliation, and to none of the others had I offered any recent causes of hostility. Soon after the fever appeared Dr. Griffitts[40] published, without his name, some plain and sensible directions to the citizens for the treatment of the fever. This publication was ascribed to me in Fenno's paper,[41] and a most virulent invective against me connected with it. It was soon afterwards followed by torrents of abuse in a paper conducted by one Cobbett, an English alien who then resided in Philadelphia.[42] The publications in these two daily papers were continued for nearly six weeks against my practice and character, and particularly against my political principles, which were those of the federal Republic of our country. A member of the College of Physicians avowed himself the author of the most

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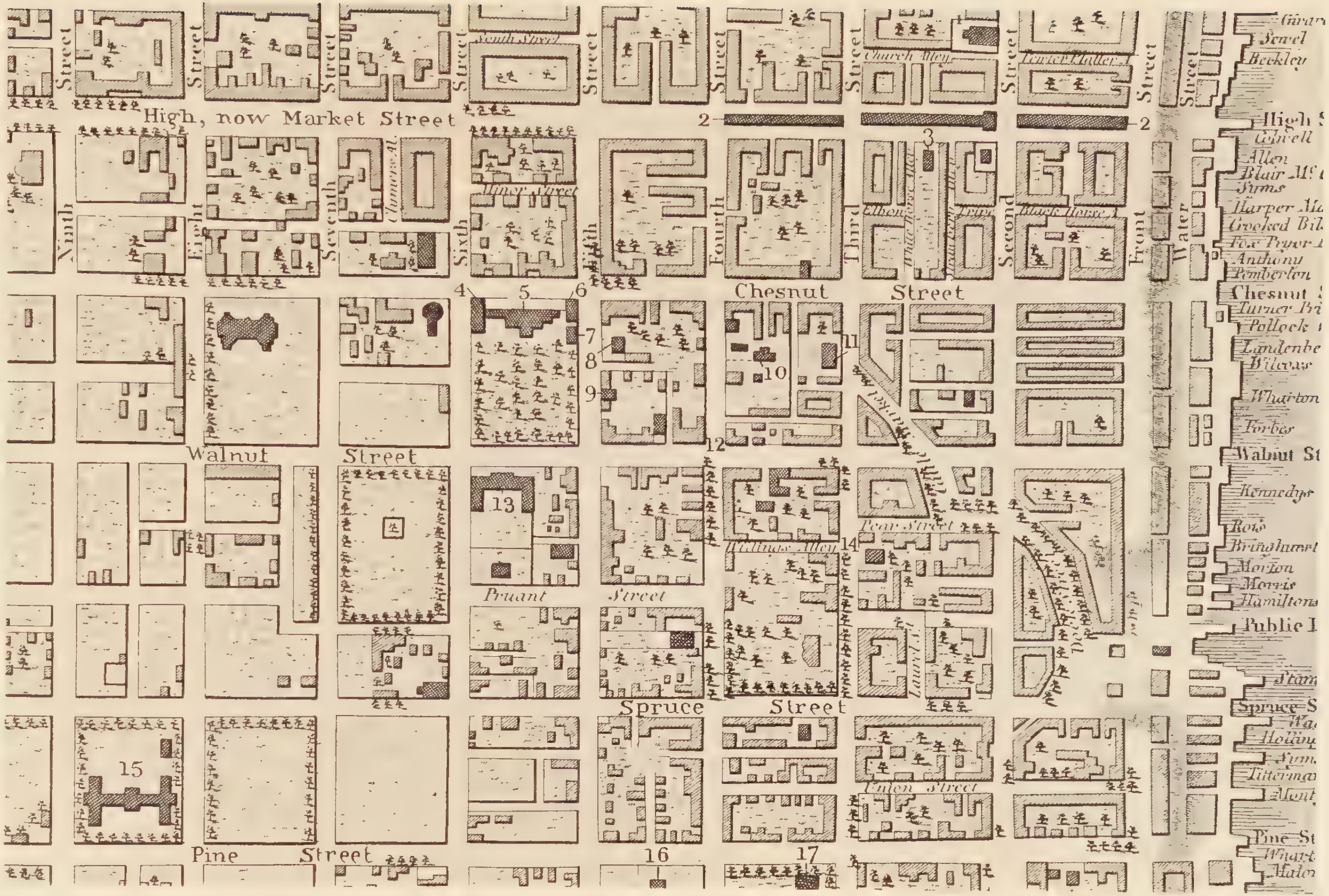
[40] Samuel Powel Griffitts, 1759-1826, a Quaker physician, studied with Adam Kuhn and in Edinburgh. He was a learned and humane man, one of the chief promoters of the Philadelphia Dispensary and a charter member of the College of Physicians (Kelly-Burrage).

[41] John Fenno, 1751-1798, began to publish the *Gazette of the United States* in New York in 1789, as a protégé of Alexander Hamilton, and took it to Philadelphia in 1790. He became embroiled in political as well as business rivalries with Bache's *Aurora* and Freneau's *National Gazette* (DAB). The attack on BR no doubt was in part inspired by political motives, BR being *persona non grata* to Hamilton. It was truly ironical that Fenno died of yellow fever the next year.

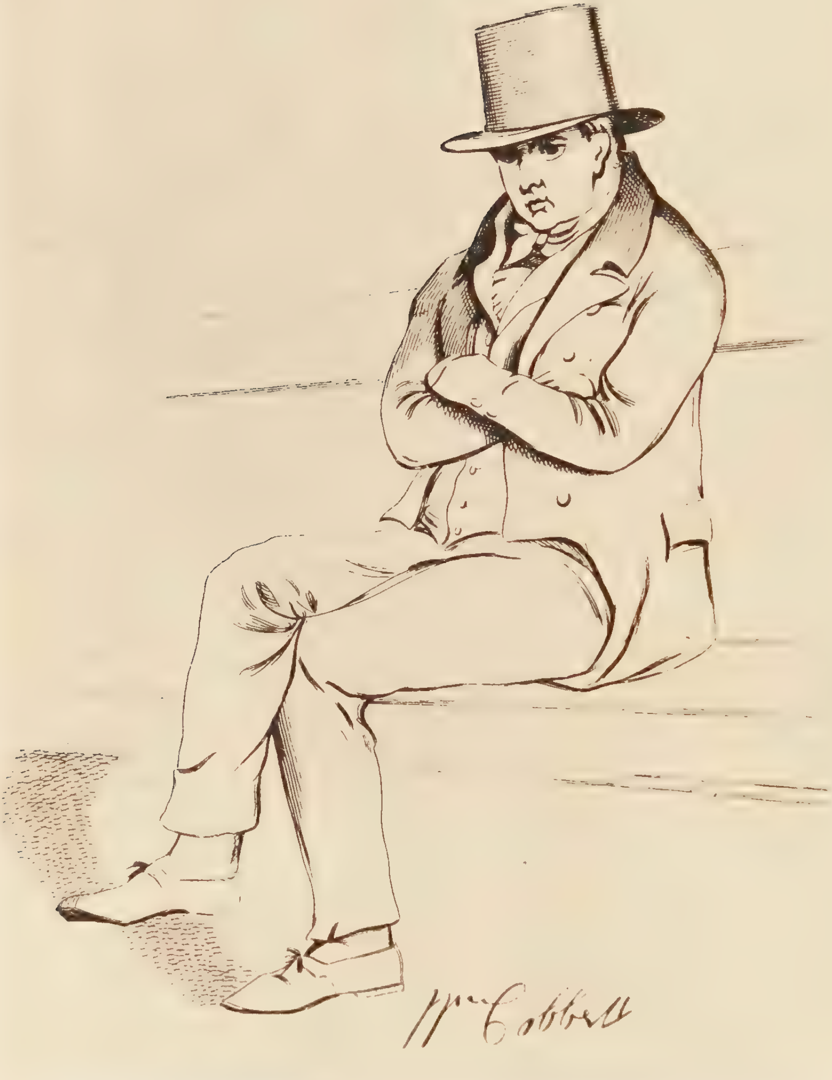
[42] William Cobbett, 1766-1835, essayist, politician and agriculturalist, was a bigger and on the whole a better man than might be thought from his first American sojourn. Certainly he carried his vituperative journalism much too far in his campaign against BR. A comprehensive account of this wretched affair is given by Goodman (*Benjamin Rush*, chapter IX). The DAB sums it up by saying that "Rush was libelled, and deserved to be libelled, but the trial was unfair." (For the whole story of Cobbett's life see both DNB and DAB. For the trial, see *Report of an Action for Libel, brought by Dr. Benjamin Rush against William Cobbett, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, December term, 1798*, Philadelphia, 1800.)

Places and Buildings mentioned or frequented by Rush based on "A Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Environs" by John Hills, 1796. *By courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

1. Christ Church, Episcopal.
2. Market in High (now Market) Street.
3. 1st Presbyterian Church.
4. Court House (Congress Hall).
5. State House (Independence Hall).
6. City Hall.
7. American Philosophical Society.
8. Library Company.
9. Surgeons Hall.
10. Carpenters Hall.
11. Bank of the United States.
12. Rush lived during the latter part of his life in various houses in this neighborhood, as follows:
    1791-ca. 1794, 83 Walnut Street
    ca. 1794-1796, 98 South Fourth Street
    1797-1807, S.W. corner Fourth and Walnut Streets
    1807-1813, 98 South Fourth Street
13. County Jail.
14. St. Paul's Church, Episcopal.
15. Pennsylvania Hospital.
16. 3d Presbyterian Church.
17. St. Peter's Church, Episcopal.


High, now Market Street
Chesnut Street
Walnut Street
Spruce Street
Pine Street
Ninth Street
Eight Street
Seventh Street
Sixth Street
Fifth Street
Fourth Street
Third Street
Second Street
Front Street
Water Street
Pruant Street
Union Street
Pear Street
Laurel St.
Church Alley
South Street
Minor Street
Chancery Al.
Dock
Market
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
Wharton
Forbes
Walnut St
Kennedys
Bringhurst
Morton
Morris
Hamiltons
Public L
Chestnut
Pollock
Landenbe
Wilcocks
Anthony
Pemberton
Allen
Colwell
Beekley
Pine St

Places and Buildings Mentioned or Frequented by Rush



Rush's Adversary, William Cobbett

malignant of these publications.[43] This man owed me many obligations. I had attended him in a dangerous fit of sickness when he lived near Chester, 9 miles from Philadelphia, and probably saved his life. I had patronized him when he first settled in Philadelphia and often protected him from the contempt of several of the old and established physicians of the city on account of his slender education and talents in medicine. He had written against me in 1793, but I had forgiven him, and we met in a sick room as friends but a few weeks before his libel appeared against me in the paper. All these different attacks upon my character and practice were well received by many of my fellow citizens. Some of them considered them as a just punishment for my political principles, while many more acquiesced in them, as the probable means of destroying the influence of a man who had aimed to destroy the credit of their city by ascribing to it a power of generating the yellow fever. Among these two classes of my enemies were several persons whose lives I had saved in the year 1793. The nature of the numerous publications against me may easily be conceived of from the following extract of a letter I received during the prevalence of the fever from a clergyman in Wilmington.[44]

Their design proved successful. They lessened my business, and they abstracted so much of the confidence of my patients as to render my practice extremely difficult and disagreeable among them. To put a stop to their injurious effects upon my business, and the lives of my patients, I commenced civil actions against both the printers. The issue of one of them shall be mentioned in another place.

Between the years 1794 and 1799 I published three volumes of medical inquiries and observations in addition to two former volumes which bore the same title.[45] They contained among other things a history of the yellow fever as it appeared in our city in 1793, 1794 and 1797. I published in the year 1797 my lectures upon animal life, and two small pamphlets on the origin of the yellow fever which I addressed to the citizens of Philadelphia.

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[43] This was William Currie, 1754-1828, who practised at Chester before settling in Philadelphia. He was not an inexperienced man; he was an apprentice of John Kearsley, attended lectures at the Philadelphia Medical School and served as a military surgeon (Kelly-Burrage); by "slender education" BR apparently means that he was not trained abroad. His publication of 1793 was a pamphlet entitled *A Description of the Malignant, Infectious Fever Prevailing at Present in Philadelphia.* The "libel" referred to here was "Information concerning Dr. Rush's Conduct and Transactions during the Prevalence of the Malignant Fever in 1793. Communicated by one of the Members of the College of Physicians," printed in the *United States Gazette*, October 6, 1797. This was the article that John Rush attributed to Dr. Andrew Ross, with unhappy results (see Appendix 3). Articles by J. R. Coxe refuting Currie's attack were published in the *U.S. Gazette*, November 6, 9, 10, 14, 1797.

[44] BR forgot to insert the clergyman's letter.

[45] Above the word "three" BR wrote "a 3d and 4th volume" and then struck out the interlineation. He added a third volume to *Medical Inquiries and Observations* in

From the year 1793 'till 1797 my business was stationary in Philadelphia. After 1797 it sensibly declined. I had no new families, except foreigners, added to the list of my patients, and many of my old patients deserted me. Even the cures I performed added to the detraction that had taken place against my character, when they were effected by remedies that were new and contrary to the feelings of the citizens. No ties of ancient School fellowship, no obligation of gratitude, no sympathy in religious or philosophical opinions, were able to resist the tide of public clamor that was excited against my practice. My name was mentioned with horror in some companies, and to some of the weakest and most insignificant of my brethren false tales of me became a recommendation to popular favor.

To supply the diminution of the resources of my business, my wife's uncle, and my excellent friend, Mr. Boudinot,[46] applied in my behalf to Mr. Adams, then President of the United States, for the office of Treasurer of the Mint, rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Way in the fever of 1797.[47] There were above 40 applications for it. Upon my being nominated by the President, several persons remonstrated with him against my appointment, urging that I was a French Democrat. Even Mrs. Adams was applied to, to use her influence with the President against me. These efforts proved ineffectual to shake the President's determination. "I know (said he) Dr. Rush's

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1793, a fourth in 1796, and a fifth in 1798. For the lectures on animal life, see note 30, p. 95. The two pamphlets were *Observations upon the Origin of the Malignant Bilious, or Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, and upon the Means of Preventing it: addressed to the Citizens of Philadelphia*, 1799, and *A Second Address to the Citizens of Philadelphia, Containing Proofs of the Domestic Origin of the Malignant Bilious, or Yellow Fever*, 1799.

Referring to the *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, and especially to the chapter on yellow fever, Lettsom (*Recollections of Dr. Rush*, London, 1815) said "When this grand production, uniting in almost unprecedented degree, sagacity and judgement, first appeared, Europe was astonished."

[46] Elias Boudinot, 1740-1821, was uncle of BR's wife through his marriage to her aunt, Hannah Stockton. A lawyer, he was very active in national affairs during the Revolution; he was president of Congress 1782 and its secretary of foreign affairs 1783. After the war he was a strong Federalist (DAB).

[47] Nicholas Way, ?-1797, was a member of the first medical class graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, 1768. He was a close friend of BR, who gives a touching account of his death in *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, 2nd ed., 1805, IV, 30.

principles perfectly. He is no more a French Democrat[48] than I am." When I received the appointment, I waited upon him to thank him. He took me by the hand, and with great kindness said "You have not more pleasure in receiving the office I have given you, than I had in conferring it upon an old Whig."[49]

If any thing in the shape of unkindness in my fellow citizens could have surprised me at this time, it would have been a discovery of the opposition that was made to a citizen who had spent 12 years of the meridian of his life, and sacrificed £10,000 in the establishment of the independance and government of the United States, receiving from them 1200 dollars a year.

In order to oppose the weight of associated numbers to the influence of the College of Physicians, I assisted during the winter of 1798 in forming a Society, the principal object of which was to collect and publish proofs of the domestic origin of the yellow fever. It was called the "Academy of Medicine." Their publications in favor of their opinion fell dead from the press, and of course produced no change in the sentiments, and but little in the conduct of the citizens of Philadelphia.

On the 14th of December, 1799, a jury fined Wm. Cobbett 5,000 dollars for his publications against me. He had at this time removed to New York, where he vented his rage in a number of publications of the same complexion with those he had published in his news paper, but with many additional falsehoods. They were purchased, lent, and read with great avidity by most of the citizens of Philadelphia, and my children were insulted with the contents of them at School, and in the public streets.[50]

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[48] The two chief parties were opposed in their attitude relative to European affairs. The Republicans sympathized with the French Revolution, the Federalists supported British reaction to French democracy. To call BR a "French democrat" was therefore something like calling a New Deal Democratic office-seeker a communist in our own day.

[49] Benjamin Waterhouse wrote to James Tilton, Mar. 24, 1815, "My situation and circumstances are peculiar. President Adams has often said they have a striking resemblance to those of his, and our friend the late Dr. Rush, who was once reduced by his political and professional enemies almost to want bread, until he gave him the place of Secretary to the Mint, by way of anchor in the storm; and which saved him." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1920-1921, LIV, 160.)

BR held this position until his death, and was succeeded by his son James. The appointment helped to cement his lifelong friendship with John Adams. For comment on his incumbency of the treasurership, see F. H. Stewart, *History of the First United States Mint*, Philadelphia, 1924. BR's quarrel with Elias Boudinot, director of the Mint, over the will of William Bradford (see Appendix 4) was carried into the affairs of the Mint, and in 1802 there was bitter dissension between the two men over charges of petty graft (apparently unjustified) which BR made against the latter. Many documents bearing on the quarrel are filed in *29 Rush mss., 1-40*.

To gratify my family I sued a bookseller who sold them. He was the son of a man whose family I had attended in the yellow fever of 1798 without charging him for my services. Upon his desisting from the sale of them I withdrew my suit. They were afterwards sold privately by a merchant formerly of high rank in the city, whom I had never offended, and whose family I had always treated with civility and respect. I am sorry to add further, they were advertised for sale in a newspaper by two printers each of whom had been twice cured by me of the yellow fever.

I had been too much accustomed to defamation and ingratitude to be affected by them in the degree that was expected. I attended my patients, and applied to my studies while they were circulating, with my usual punctuality and industry. I drew upon the comforts and support with which Christianity abounds to those who suffer persecution in the cause of truth and humanity, and while my enemies exulted in the ruin which they supposed they had brought upon my character, I was favoured with such composure and satisfaction of mind, such confidence in the future justice and goodness of Heaven towards me as enabled me to treat all the hardness against me with silence. In the course of a few months, they were neglected and forgotten. In this instance I experienced the truth of a remark I had often heard made by Dr. Witherspoon, that "Scandal died sooner of itself, than we could kill it."

I have carefully avoided mentioning the names of my medical enemies. I bore them no malice. I yielded to a duty superior to the love of peace, in opposing their opinions and practice, and that is, the love of the lives of my fellow citizens. If I had entertained a desire for revenge, it would have been amply gratified by seeing them all adopt that practice, and some of them those opinions which they had so strenuously opposed and villified. I forgive them from the bottom of my soul, and I thank God I feel a heart disposed not only to be reconciled to them, but to do them acts of kindness. I desire that my children may never remember the injuries they have done me, but treat them and their posterity as if they had been my friends. We shall soon lie down in the grave together, and afterwards enter upon a state of existence where we shall be as much ashamed of the matters that now divide us, as we are of our contests about the highest seat on a bench, or about jackstones, in the Schools of our childhood.

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[50] William Cobbett's periodical *The Rush Light*, which appeared from February to August, 1800 (vol. I, nos. 1-5, New York; no. 6 and vol. II, no. 1, London) was devoted entirely to abuse of BR. Mr. L. H. Butterfield (private communication) believes that the writing of *Travels Through Life* was provoked by Cobbett's attacks of 1800.

It would be criminal in me, after mentioning the number and malignity of my enemies, not to acknowledge my obligations to Heaven for the friendship I experienced from many of my medical brethren in Philadelphia. These were my venerable master Dr. Redman, Dr. Griffitts, Dr. Physick, Dr. Saml. Duffield, Dr. Jno R. Coxe, Dr. Mease, Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Dewees, Dr. Say, Dr. Gallaher, Dr. Stewart and some others.[51]

There were some other medical gentlemen from whom I never experienced an injury, and who always treated me with civility. They took no part in the controversies which divided me from the leading members of the College of Physicians.

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[51] Philip Syng Physick, 1768-1837, was apprentice to Adam Kuhn, studied in London with John Hunter, and took his M.D. at Edinburgh, 1792. He was physician to the yellow fever hospital at Bush Hill in 1794. Physick had a distinguished career as a surgeon and was professor of surgery and afterward of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania (DAB).

Samuel Duffield, 1732-1814, served actively in the epidemics of yellow fever 1793 to 1798. He was for many years physician to the almshouse (John W. Croskey, *History of Blockley*, Philadelphia, 1929).

James Mease, 1771-1846, afterward distinguished as an antiquarian (see DAB) was one of BR's apprentices (1798-?) and was his patient when attacked by yellow fever in that year. It is said that BR bled him to the amount of 162 ounces. The two men were friends throughout life and Mease attended BR in his last illness.

Charles Caldwell, 1772-1853, born in North Carolina, entered the University of Pennsylvania medical school in 1792. He distinguished himself in the epidemic of 1793. By reason of his bold and indeed impertinent criticisms he antagonized BR for some years, but they became reconciled, as this tribute indicates. Caldwell taught at the University of Pennsylvania and later was a founder of Transylvania University medical department and the Louisville medical college (DAB). His posthumous *Autobiography*, edited by Harriot W. Warner, Philadelphia, 1855, contains a lively account of the Pennsylvania medical school at the time of BR's activity and gives on the whole a just estimate of BR.

William Potts Dewees, 1768-1841, who became a distinguished obstetrician, attended yellow fever patients at Masters Place camp in 1798 (DAB).

Benjamin Say, 1755-1813, a "Free Quaker," became known as a physician and humanitarian (DAB).

James Gallaher, M.D., appeared in the Philadelphia *Directories* for many years. Condie and Folwell, *History of the Pestilence, Commonly Called Yellow Fever*, Philadelphia, 1798, named him and Dr. Stuart among the physicians who courageously remained in town during the epidemic.

James Stuart, ca.1772-1809, was listed as a practitioner of physic in the *Directory* of 1797. He took his M.D. in 1798 at the University of Pennsylvania, with a dissertation *On the Salutary Effects of Mercury in Malignant Fevers*. For BR's characterization of him and account of his death, see p. 317. His name appears in a list of "literary characters" in *A Picture of Philadelphia*, by Dr. James Mease, 1813.

A few miscellaneous remarks shall close the history of this part of my travels thro' life. At the time of my writing them, I review one and thirty years spent in the study and practice of physic under circumstances of labor, self denial and danger to health and life, that have not often been exceeded by physicians in modern times. The product of this labor would probably have been much greater from several of the mechanical arts, or from agriculture, than it has been from my profession. By the depreciation of paper money, and the loss of business to which I exposed myself by my taking a part in the American war, I have said I sacrificed not less than £10,000.

Including the business I did without charging for it, and bad and absolved debts, I have not been paid for more than one fifth of the labor of my life.

I never sued but six persons in the course of my practice for medical services, by which lenity I lost many hundred, probably thousand pounds. I give myself no credit for this conduct to my debtors in many instances. On the contrary, I injured the practice of physic and Society by it, by encouraging many people to exercise similar injustice to other classes of creditors. I believe further that I injured myself by it, for patients who became indebted to me, and refused to pay my bills, not only left me, but as a justification of their conduct used their influence to persuade others to follow them in employing other physicians.

I made it a constant practice to reduce or forgive my bills when my patients asked it. In some instances I did this where it was not asked, when I heard that my patients were poor, or had met with some unexpected misfortune.

I always considered my first obligations to be to my patients, and therefore made every other duty to Society yield to them.

I frequently exposed myself to reproach from the regular bred physicians by attending patients with quacks, and with practitioners of physic of slender education. I justified this conduct by saying that I rescued the sick from the hands of ignorant men, and gave them a better chance of being cured, and at the same time instructed them in a regular mode of practice. I am satisfied I did good by my condescension, and that many poor people owe their lives, and one practitioner of physic in Philadelphia owed his fortune in part to it.

I took great pleasure in promoting the advancement of young physicians in knowledge and business. I have received returns of gratitude from but few of them. Those whom I served most essentially have been my greatest enemies. Such have been the acts of hostility I have received from some of these physicians I have obliged most, that I have sometimes thought when any of them called upon me for a favor, to demand from his previously to my granting it, a written obligation with a penalty, that he would not at a future day cut my throat.

I have found the least gratitude from those families in which I had performed the greatest services. The slightest act of inattention has often cancelled the obligations created by years of attention and even friendship. Many families whom I attended in low and obscure situations for nothing, or for very small compensations, left me when they got up in the world. They could not bear to be reminded by my presence of their former poverty or humble employments.

I never but once spoke an angry word to a sick person. Many, many cruel reproaches and insults have I received in sick rooms to which I have made no reply. This self-command was the effect of reasoning and sympathy. I considered invalids as under a physical influence which rendered them in some measure the machines of their passions. The person whose insolence I resented was an officer in the American army. He was a man of true courage, but his good sense got so much the better of his pride and ill temper, that he politely asked my pardon. I afterwards cured him, and charged him nothing for my services.

I never charged an officer or soldier of the American army any thing for my medicines or attendance upon them, during the whole of the Revolutionary War.

I once lost the business of a respectable and worthy family for several years by taking up a news paper which lay upon a table and reading it while the lady of the house was giving me an uninteresting history of the case of one of her family.

I made it a practice to speak with great uncertainty and caution of the fatal issue of diseases, and yet I once lost the business of a worthy patient whom I advised to lose blood by telling him that if he delayed it four and twenty hours "he might be a dead man."

I once offended an American officer who expressed a fear of dying with some camp disease, by telling him that "to die of a bullet was the natural death of a soldier." I alluded here to Sterne's remark that "to break the neck by a fall from the box of a carriage is the natural death of a coachman."[52]

I seldom predicted the issue of acute diseases in life or death. To a patient whom I attended in consultation with Dr.   I said he was out of danger. He died in a few hours afterwards with a rupture of an abscess in his liver.

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[52] The quotation from Sterne has not been located.

How wide are the circles which error and folly create in the affairs of men! These four acts of inattention, ignorance and ill-timed pleasantry, did me more harm than a thousand instances of extraordinary attention to the sick, well timed anecdotes, or of just predictions of the issue of diseases would have done me good.

With all the folly and indiscretions of my life, with all the odium to which my opinions in medicine, politicks and religion exposed me, and with all the pecuniary defalcations which have been mentioned, I believe I did more business, and with more profit, between the years 1769 and 1800 than any cotemporary physician in Philadelphia. Thus it is the providence of God often blesses men in spite of themselves, and finally protects them from the evils to which an adherence to the dictates of their judgements, and well meant endeavours to promote knowledge and public happiness expose them.

My persecutions have often been such as to subject me to the pity of my friends, and even of my enemies. Upon comparing them with the pleasure I have enjoyed in the investigation, discovery, and promulgation of truth, and in the practical duties of my profession, they appear to be light and trifling. I have given them a place in this work, chiefly to show how feeble their weight is when opposed by a belief in a divine government over the affairs of individuals, and at times a delightful sense of fellowship, in suffering from calumny, with good men in all ages and countries; by a conviction of the present extent, and a hope in the future benefit of my labors to mankind; and by a consciousness, amidst many failings, of aiming well. Brutus said in the close of his life, that he had devoted himself to his country, and had led a life of liberty and glory.[53] I can say with equal truth, I early devoted myself to the interests of science and humanity, and have through the mercy of God led a life in which the good I have enjoyed, has predominated infinitely over all the evil I have felt, and merited.

However trifling it may appear, I cannot help adding an acknowledgement of the good providence of God in having preserved me from falls in climbing and descending stairs, and from insults in the streets in the most lonely places, and at all hours of the night, during the course of one and thirty years.

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[53] The reference is to the life of Marcus Brutus in Plutarch's *Lives*.

I acknowledge his goodness likewise in having been preserved from great losses by securityships. I have lost, it is true, nearly one thousand pounds of loaned money, but I lost but a few hundred dollars by endorsing a note for a friend.

V. *An account of political and military events and observations*

I HAD, previously to my going abroad, become acquainted with the claims of my country to an exemption from taxation by the British parliament. During my residence in Edinburgh my attachment to political justice was much encreased by my adopting republican principles. Thus prepared and predisposed, I took an early but obscure part in the controversy between Great Britain and the American colonies in the year 1773. Having published several peices in the news papers in favor of the claims of my country, which attracted notice,[1] I was admitted into the confidence of John Dickinson (the author of the Farmer's Letters), Chas. Thompson,[2] Thomas afterwards General Mifflin,[3] and George Clymer,[4] who then by their publications governed the public mind in Pennsylvania. Their influence was much aided by a pamphlet written by James Wilson who then lived at Carlisle, and by the conversation of Edwd. Biddle,[5] an eminent lawyer who then lived at Reading. From these sources proceeded for a while nearly all the political information which set Pennsylvania in motion, and united her with her sister Colonies. My profession gave me an opportunity of discovering the errors and prejudices which hung over the minds of the midling class of our citizens upon the subjects of liberty and government. These were communicated to some of the above gentlemen, by whom they were combatted and refuted. I was not idle at this time with my pen. I wrote under a variety of signatures,[6] by which means an impression of numbers in favor of liberty was made upon the minds of its friends and enemies. In September 1774 the first Congress met in Philadelphia. I went as far as Frankford to meet the delegates from Massachusetts, and rode back into town in the same carriage with John Adams,[7] and two of his colleagues. This gentleman's dress and manners were at that time plain, and his conversation cold and reserved. He asked me many questions relative to the state of public opinion upon politicks, and the characters of the most active citizens on both sides of the controversy. Of the answers to these questions, he reminded me in the year 1798.

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[1] No list of these articles exists, and since they appeared over pseudonyms, their identification would be a research in itself. A few which have been identified by Mr. Butterfield will appear in LHB, *Rush Letters.*

[2] Charles Thomson, 1729-1824, born in Ireland, came to America in 1741. He was at first a teacher, and was later concerned in negotiations with the Iroquois and Delaware Indians, who called him "The Man of Truth." Active in Pennsylvania politics before the Revolution, he was secretary of the successive congresses to 1789. He was universally respected and trusted. His translation of the Bible, published in 1808, was long considered valuable (DAB). For BR's characterization see p. 155.

[3] Thomas Mifflin, 1744-1800, of Quaker stock, became a merchant; was in the Pennsylvania legislature, and in the Continental Congress in 1774. He was made quartermaster-general in the Revolutionary army and rose to major general. In the counter-revolutionary period, he was one of the leaders of the Pennsylvania radicals and thus was in opposition to the conservative group with which BR was then affiliated. They accused him of selling out to the radical party of Philadelphia proletarians and up-state agrarians, from a love of position and power. Mifflin was president of the Congress in 1783, was in the constitutional convention of 1787, and was governor of Pennsylvania 1791-1800. (DAB; see also Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790*, Harrisburg, 1942.) For BR's ultimate judgment of Mifflin's character, see pages 155 and 190 of this book.

[4] George Clymer, 1739-1813, a wealthy Philadelphian, was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776 and signed the Declaration of Independence (DAB). For BR's characterization see p. 149.

I waited upon nearly all the members of this first Congress, and entertained most of them at my table. John and Samuel Adams domesticated themselves in my family. Their conversation was at all times animating and decided in favor of liberty and Republicanism. Their characters will be given elsewhere.[8] Patrick Henry from Virginia was my patient under the inoculation for the small pox.[9] He was amiable

[5] James Wilson, 1742-1798, came to America in 1765, and studied law with John Dickinson. His pamphlet, *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament*, 1774, was widely read. He was a member of the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence. In the counter-revolutionary period he was a leader of the conservatives and took a chief part in opposing the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 and in drafting that of 1790. He was one of the first justices of the U.S. Supreme Court (DAB; for BR's tribute see p. 150).

Edward Biddle, 1738-1779, soldier in the French and Indian War and a lawyer, took an active part in pre-revolutionary agitation in 1774. He was in the first Continental Congress (DAB).

[6] See note 1, p. 109.

[7] For BR's characterization of John Adams, see p. 140. Adams recorded this meeting in his diary (*Works*, Boston, 1850-56, II, 357-8, and 512, note. See also his characterization of BR in 1775, *ibid.*, 427-8). "He reminded me in 1798" no doubt refers to a conversation between President Adams and BR; Mr. L. H. Butterfield states (private communication) that no letters were exchanged between them in 1798.

[8] For the "character" of Samuel Adams, see p. 139.

[9] Smallpox was prevalent in Philadelphia that year. In September 1774, the physicians of the city met and agreed to inoculate no more persons during the sitting of Congress "as several of the Northern and Southern delegates are understood not to have had that disorder" (F. R. Packard, *History of Medicine in the U.S.*, New York, 1931).

in his manners, and a zealous advocate of the claims of his country. I never heard him speak in public, but his private opinions upon men and things, shewed a deep and correct knowledge of human nature. I recollect that he disapproved of the expedition into Canada in the year 1775 [actually 1776] for the purpose of exciting an insurrection in that province against the British government. He said "men would never revolt against their ancient Rulers, while they enjoyed peace and plenty." The event proved that he was right. When I told him that General Warren had fallen in the battle of Bunker Hill on the 19th of April 1775 he said in an exulting manner "I rejoice to hear it. His death will do a great deal of good. We wanted some breaches to be made upon our affections to awaken our patriotism still more and to prepare us for War." The conversations with this gentleman, and many other members of the first and second Congresses, constituted feasts of noble sentiments. Our country was then untainted by speculation. A selfish spirit was scarcely known. The errors of the British government, and the corruptions of the British court, were the common subjects of complaint and declamation in all Whig companies. Every man who acted for the public was then honest and in earnest. Benevolence was actuated by new objects. It embraced the nations of Europe, and finally the whole family of mankind, who it was daily said were interested in the issue of our struggle. During the session of the first Congress I spent a long evening at General Mifflin's[10] in company with General Washington, the two Adamses, General Lee[11] and several other gentlemen who acted a conspicuous part in the American Revolution. After supper several of the company looked forward to the probable consequence of the present measures, and state of things. John Adams said he had no expectation of a redress of grievances and a reconciliation with Great Britain, and as proof of this belief, he gave as a toast "Cash and Gunpowder to the Yankies." The war which he anticipated, it was expected would begin among the New Englandmen who were then called Yankies both by their friends and enemies.

The evening after the adjournment of this Congress, a number of the members invited those citizens of Philadelphia who had entertained them to a supper at the city tavern.[12] The company was large, and the conversation animated by the most fervid patriotism. Mr.

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[10] Washington's *Diary* for October 17, 1774 contains the entry "Spent the evening at Mr. Mifflin's."

[11] Charles Lee, 1731-1786 (DAB).

[12] The City Tavern, later called The Coffee House, was on Second Street (Watson).

Dean,[13] a delegate from Connecticut, discovered distant and correct views of what would probably follow the measures adopted by Congress both in Britain and America. But Governor Ward[14] of Rhode Island extended his views much further in the following toast: "May the fire which has been recently kindled upon the altar of liberty in America, enlighten all the nations of the world into a knowledge of their rights." Wm. Livingston,[15] afterwards governor of New Jersey, contributed very much to the pleasure of this evening by his facetious stories and conversation.

I continued a spectator only of the events which passed in our country in the winter of 1775. The battle of Lexington gave a new tone to my feelings, and I now resolved to bear my share of the duties and burdens of the approaching Revolution. I considered the seperation of the colonies from Great Britain as inevitable. The first gun that was fired at an American cut the cord that had tied the two countries together. It was the signal for the commencement of our independance and from this time all my publications were calculated to prepare the public mind to adopt that important and necessary measure.

The second Congress met in [May 1775]. I mixed freely with them, particularly the two Adamses and other members from New England who had anticipated and even cherished the idea of independance.

A few days after the appointment of General Washington to be commander in chief of the American armies, I was invited by a party of delegates and several citizens of Philadelphia to a dinner which was given to him at a tavern on the banks of the Skuilkill [Schuylkill] below the city. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, James Wilson, Jno. Langdon[16] of New Hampshire and about a dozen more constituted the whole company. The first toast that was given after dinner was "The Commander in chief of the American Armies." General Washington rose from his seat, and with some confusion thanked the company for the honor they did him. The whole company instantly rose, and drank the toast standing. This scene, so unexpected, was a solemn one. A silence followed it, as if every heart was penetrated with the awful, but great events which were to follow the use of the sword of liberty which had just been put into General Washington's hands by the unanimous voice of his country.[17]

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[13] Silas Deane, 1737-1789, afterward (1776-1778) one of the commissioners from the U.S. to France (see DAB).

[14] Samuel Ward, 1725-1776, governor of Rhode Island 1762, 1765-1766. He died of smallpox during the session of Congress (DAB).

[15] William Livingston, 1723-1790, governor of New Jersey 1775-1790. He had a reputation as a wit (DAB).

[16] John Langdon, 1741-1819, afterward governor of New Hampshire; see DAB.

About this time I saw Patrick Henry at his lodgings, who told me that General Washington had been with him, and informed him that he was unequal to the station in which his country had placed him, and then added with tears in his eyes "Remember, Mr. Henry, what I now tell you: From the day I enter upon the command of the American armies, I date my fall, and the ruin of my reputation."

During the session of the Congress the General went to Cambridge accompanied by General Lee, Thos., afterwards General, Mifflin, his aide-de-camp, and several other military gentlemen. Thousands thronged to see him set off from his lodgings. T. Mifflin held his stirrup while he mounted his horse.

About the year 1774 a certain Thomas Paine[18] arrived in Philadelphia from England with a letter of recommendation from Dr. Franklin to his family in Philadelphia. Mr. Paine said his object was to teach a School, or to give private lessons upon geography to young ladies and gentlemen. While he was waiting for employment, Robt. Aitken applied to him to conduct the United States Magazine.[19] He did this with great ability and success for several months. In one of my visits to Mr. Aitken's bookstore, I met with Mr. Paine, and was introduced to him by Mr. Aitken. His conversation became at once interesting. I asked him to visit me, which he did a few days afterwards. Our subjects of conversation were political. I perceived with pleasure that he had realized the independance of the American colonies upon Great Britain, and that he considered the measure as necessary to bring the war to a speedy and successful issue. I had before this interview put some thoughts upon paper upon this subject, and was preparing an address to the inhabitants of the colonies upon it. But I had hesitated as to the time, and I shuddered at the prospect of the consequence of its not being well received. I mentioned the subject to Mr. Paine, and asked him what he thought of writing a pamphlet upon it. I suggested to him that he had nothing to fear from the popular odium to which such a publication might expose him, for he could live anywhere, but that my profession and connections, which tied me to Philadelphia, where a great majority of the citizens and some of my friends were hostile to a seperation of our country from Great Britain, forbad me to come forward as a pioneer in that important controversy. He readily assented to the proposal, and from time to time he called at my house, and read to me every chapter of the proposed pamphlet as he composed it. I recollect being charmed with a sentence in it which by accident, or perhaps by design, was not published. It was as follows: "Nothing can be conceived of more absurd than three millions of people flocking to the American shore every time a vessel arrives from England, to know what portion of liberty they shall enjoy." When Mr. Paine had finished his pamphlet, I advised him to shew it to Dr. Franklin, Mr. Rittenhouse,[20] and Saml. Adams, all of whom I knew were decided friends to American independance. I mention these facts to refute a report that Mr. Paine was assisted in composing his pamphlet by one or more of the above gentlemen. They never saw it till it was written, and then only by my advice. I gave it at his request the title of "Common Sense."[21]

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[17] Washington was appointed commander in chief June 15, 1775. His diary on June 18 (he discontinued it after June 19, for the duration of the war) contains the laconic entry "Dined at Mullens upon Schoolkill" (*Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*, ed. by J. C. Fitzpatrick, Boston, 1925). There were evidently two eating houses known as Mullen's, one on Water Street (see p. 357) and one on the Schuylkill River.

[18] Thomas Paine (1737-1809; DAB, DNB) arrived in the U.S. in November 1774. A common bond between him and BR was their anti-slavery views. BR reviewed his whole relationship with Paine in a letter to James Cheetham, July 17, 1809 (Cheetham's *Life of Paine*, New York, 1809) which will be reprinted in LHB, *Rush Letters*. In that letter he said that the three men he advised Paine to consult about *Common Sense* were Franklin, Sam. Adams, and James Wilson (not Rittenhouse).

[19] Aitkin's periodical was called *Pennsylvania Magazine or United States Monthly Museum*.

The printing of this pamphlet was the next thing to be done. For this purpose I applied to a certain Thos. Bell,[22] a Scotch bookseller of a singular character, but a thoughtless and fearless Whig, and an open friend to independance, to undertake the publication of it. He enjoyed the proposal. I sent Mr. Paine to him, and in a few weeks his pamphlet made its appearance. Its effects were sudden and extensive upon the American mind. It was read by public men, repeated in clubs, spouted in Schools, and in one instance, delivered from the pulpit instead of a sermon by a clergyman in Connecticut. Several pamphlets were written against it, but they fell dead from the press. The controversy about independance was carried into the news papers, in which I bore a busy part. It was carried on at the same time in all the principal cities in our country. I was actuated by the double motives of the safety of my country, and a predilection to a Republican form of government which I now saw within her grasp. It was a blessing I had never expected to possess, at the time I adopted republican principles in the city of Edinburgh. These principles were daily nourished by conversations with Saml. and Jno Adams, David Rittenhouse and Owen Biddle,[23] all of whom appeared to be republicans from choice. Mr. Rittenhouse informed me that he had never held any other principles in government, and that the only person he had known who thought with him was his brother in law John Jacobs[24] of Chester County, who had been a republican above twenty years.

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[20] David Rittenhouse, 1732-1796, the astronomer and patriot famous for his observations on the transit of Venus in 1768 (DAB). He was a member of the Pennsylvania constitutional convention of 1776, held various official positions during the Revolution, was State Treasurer 1777-1789 and director of the Mint 1792-1795 (DAB; Edward Ford, *David Rittenhouse, Astronomer-Patriot*, Philadelphia, 1946). BR delivered a *Eulogium* upon him before the American Philosophical Society, of which he was president 1791-1796 (published at Philadelphia, 1796).

[21] John Adams in his autobiography (*Works*, Boston, 1850-1856, II, 507) narrating the events of September 1775, corroborates BR's account of his relation to the writing of *Common Sense.*

[22] Robert Bell, ca.1732-1784, was born at Glasgow. He came to America about 1766. For illustrations of his "singular character" see DAB.

In the month of August I paid a visit to my old friends Dr. Witherspoon and Mr. Stockton at Princeton. I met Mr. Stockton and his lady[25] at a tavern a few miles from Princeton, and was conducted by him to his house, where I was kindly entertained as his guest for several days. His eldest daughter,[26] a young lady between 16 and 17 years of age, soon attracted my attention. She was engaging in her manners and correct in her conversation. I had seen a letter of her writing to Mrs. Ferguson[27] which gave me a favourable idea of her taste and understanding. It was much strengthened by an opinion I heard her give of Dr. Witherspoon's preaching the next day after I saw her. She said he was the best preacher she had ever heard. Such a declaration I was sure could only proceed from a soundness of judgement and correctness of taste seldom to be met with in a person of her age, for there was nothing in Dr. Witherspoon's sermons to recommend them, but their uncommon good sense and simplicity of style. From this moment I determined to offer her my hand. Soon after I returned to Philadelphia I wrote to her mama (who had been my acquaintance and friend when a boy at the College at Princeton) for her and Mr. Stockton's permission to visit their daughter. This request was politely granted. After several visits my suit was blessed with success, and I was married to her on the 11th of January 1776. There was 14 years difference in our ages. I had carried her in my arms from the College hall to her father's house on the evening after a commencement in the year 1763. The influence of this connection upon my happiness and conduct in life will be taken notice of in another place.[28]

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[23] Owen Biddle, 1737-1779, brother of the Revolutionary soldier Clement Biddle, was an instrument maker by trade. He served his country patriotically during the Revolution in various civil capacities and was secretary of the American Philosophical Society 1773-1782. He was an associate of Rittenhouse in the observations of the transit of Venus in 1768 (Henry S. Biddle, "Owen Biddle," *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1892, XVI).

[24] John and Israel Jacobs, brothers of Hannah Jacobs, Rittenhouse's second wife (see p. 236) owned a place on the Schuylkill near the modern town of Betzwood, and were neighbors of Rittenhouse, who owned Norriton farm. Both brothers were members of the Assembly and resided in Philadelphia during its sessions. (Edward Ford, *David Rittenhouse, Astronomer-Patriot*, Philadelphia, 1946.)

[25] "Mr. Stockton's lady," Annis Boudinot Stockton, 1736-1801, really deserves more than the few words her son-in-law grants her in his autobiography. She was the niece of Elias Boudinot (see note 102, p. 46). A woman of sentimental and poetical nature, she was a great admirer of Washington. See Elizabeth Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, New York, 1848-1850, III. For a charming account of Mrs. Stockton and her poetry, see L. H. Butterfield, "Morven, A Colonial Outpost of Sensibility," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 1944, VI, and "Annis and the General: Mrs. Stockton's Poetic Eulogies of George Washington," *ibid.*, 1945, VII.

[26] The memory of Julia Stockton Rush, 1759-1848, lives almost exclusively in these pages of her adoring husband. Married before seventeen, and the mother of thirteen children, nine of whom she raised to maturity in a time of war, pestilence, and great economic stress, she could have had little time for anything but the care of her family. It is evident between the lines as well as in BR's direct tributes to her, that she was a sensible, calm woman upon whom he depended for solace and stabilizing advice. Her deeply pious religious diary has been preserved (privately owned).

From scenes of conjugal and domestic joys, I return to the history of events produced by the revolutionary state of our country.

In the winter of 1776 I was elected a member of what was then called a Committee of Inspection for carrying into execution the resolves of the Congress. Here I took an active part both in their debates and business. From the encrease in the quantity of money and the scarcity of some articles of merchandise, there was a great encrease of their price. The Committee attempted to restrain this evil by publishing an order limiting provisions and imported goods to their old prices. I stood nearly alone in an opposition to this measure. To shew its impracticability I read a passage from Hume's history of England in which similar attempts to subject the articles of trade to

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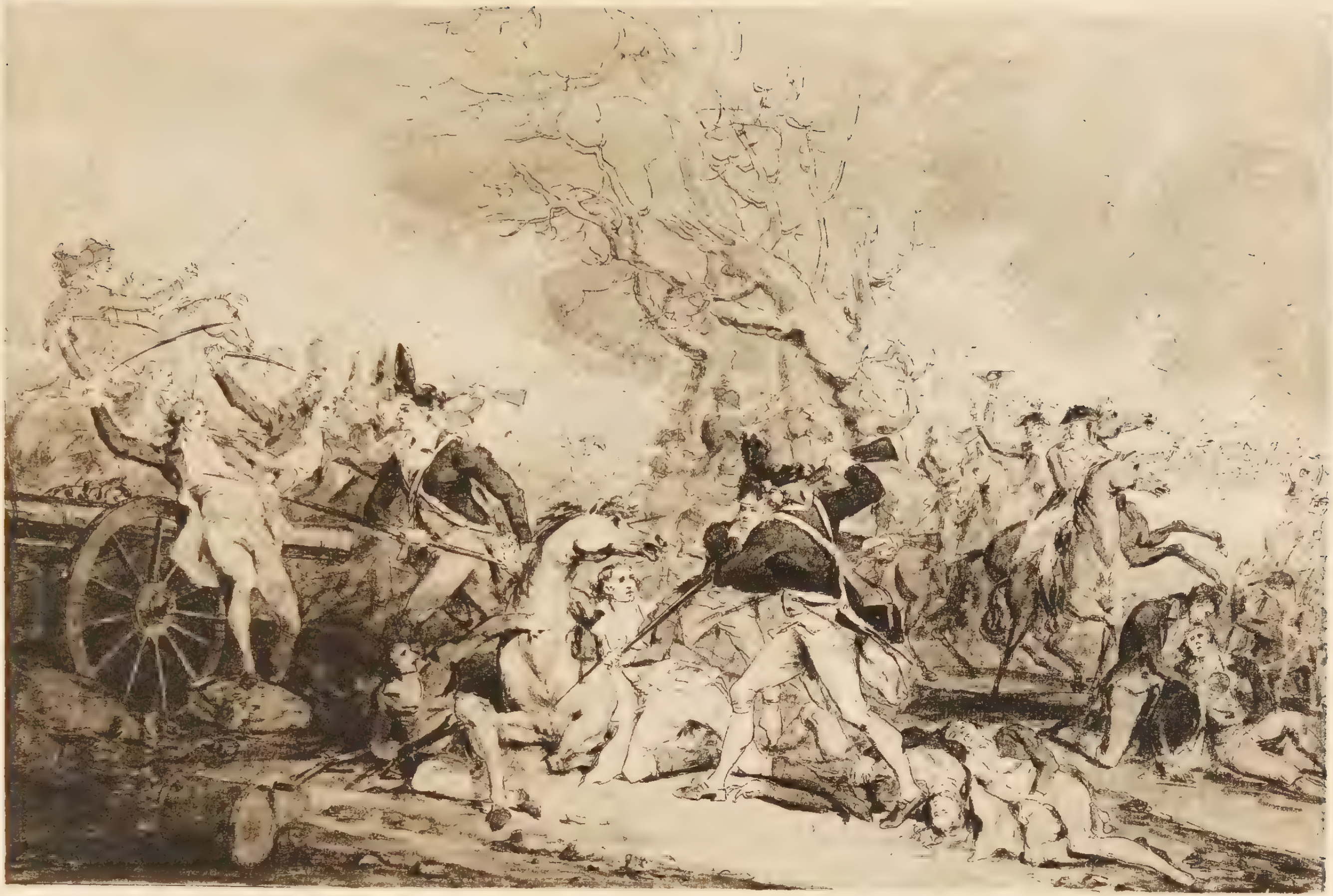
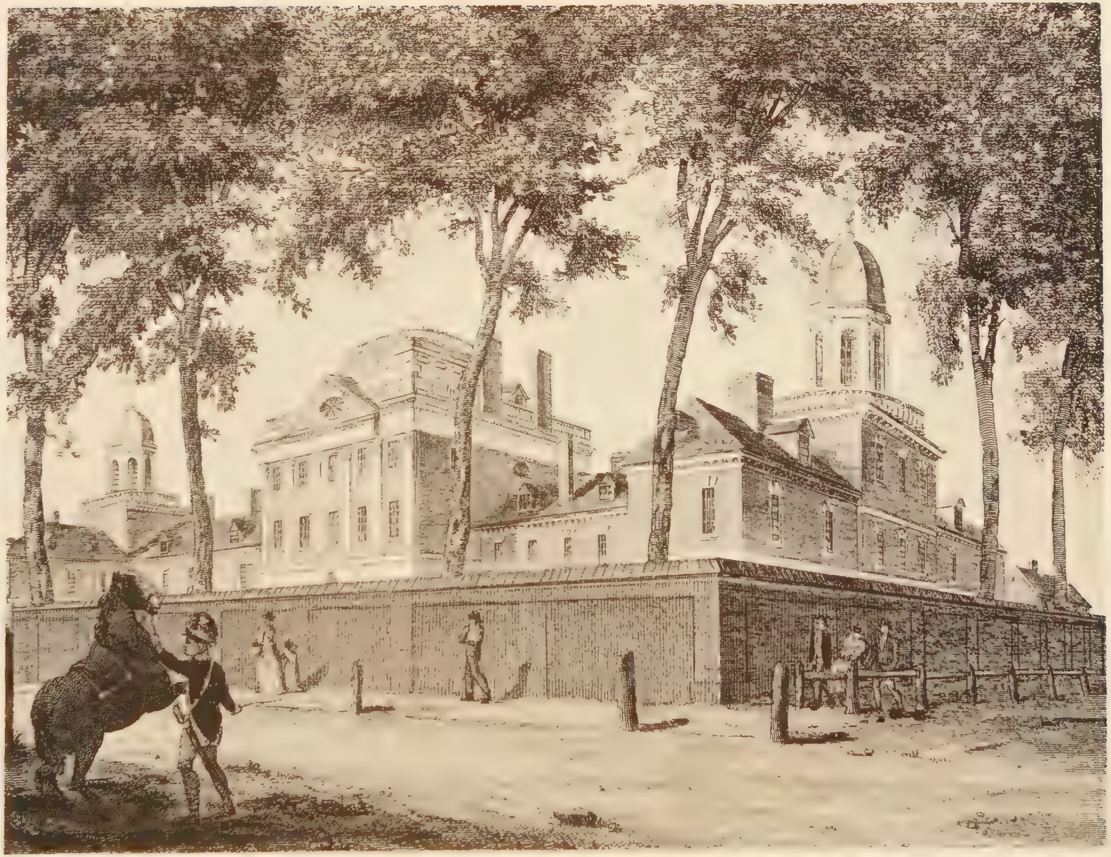
[27] Mrs. Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, 1737-1801, a daughter of the wealthy Dr. Thomas Graeme, after her mother's death became mistress of his house and center of the literary set of Philadelphia. She wrote much in prose and verse. Through marriage to Henry Hugh Ferguson she was suspected of Tory activities in 1777 and thereafter was in considerable difficulty with the colonial government (DAB). BR was a lifetime admirer of this lady for her piety, charity and culture. He named after her his 5th child, who died in infancy, and it was to her that he expressed his grief when his mother died (p. 167). See also his comment on her death, p. 320.

[28] P. 166 of this book.



“Death of General Mercer,” a Sketch for “The Battle of Princeton”
by John Trumbull



The Pennsylvania Hospital, 1799

legislative prices had not only failed of success, but produced a scarcity of provisions that bordered upon famine.[29] The precedents of Mr. Hume had no effect upon the clamors that were urged in favor of the adoption of the measure, and it was finally carried by nearly an unanimous vote.[30] I now saw that men do not become wise by the experience of other people. Subsequent observations taught me that even our own experience does not always produce wise conduct though the lessons for that purpose are sometimes repeated two or three times. With the best dispositions to act properly, the people of America imitated the blunders of nations in situations similar to their own, and scarcely succeeded in a single undertaking 'till they had exhausted all the errors that had been practiced in the same pursuits in other countries.

In this committee I was often disgusted in observing an intolerant spirit towards the persons who were opposed to the war. I frequently advocated or palliated their conduct, by which means I lessened my influence among my Whig fellow citizens.

I was notwithstanding appointed one of a delegation to meet deputies from the committees of all the counties in the state in order to find a mode of calling a convention to form a new constitution for Pennsylvania agreeably to a recommendation of Congress of the 15th May 1776. The committee met, in what they called a conference, and fixed the manner of chusing a convention for the above purpose. I had frequent occasion to observe that the Tories and Whigs were actuated by very different motives in their conduct, or by the same motives acting in different degrees of force. The following classes of each of them was published by me in the early stages of the war, in Dunlap's paper.[31] There were Tories (1) from an attachment to power and office. (2) From an attachment to the British commerce which the war had interrupted or annihilated. (3) From an attachment to kingly government. (4) From an attachment to the hierarchy of the Church of England, which it was supposed would be abolished in America by her seperation from Great Britain. This motive acted chiefly upon the Episcopal clergy, more especially in the Eastern states. (5) From a dread of the power of the country being transferred into the hands of the Presbyterians. This motive acted upon many of the Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and upon the Episcopalians in several of those states where they had been in possession of power, or of a religious establishment.

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[29] Hume's disquisition on the evils of price control is in Chapter XIV of *The History of England* (pp. 117-119 of the London edition of 1793). It deals with events in the time of Edward II.

[30] This debate apparently took place in February 1776. BR recorded it in detail in one of his manuscript notebooks, from which Dr. S. Weir Mitchell printed it in "Historical Notes of Dr. Benjamin Rush, 1777," *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1903, XXVII.

[31] BR wrote out much the same classification of Whigs and Tories in his 1777 notebook; see the extracts by Weir Mitchell mentioned in the previous note.

It cannot be denied, but that private and personal consideration actuated some of those men who took a part in favor of the American Revolution. There were Whigs (1) from a desire of possessing, or at least sharing, in the power of our country. It was said there were Whigs (2) from an expectation that a war with Great Britain would cancel all British debts. There certainly were Whigs (3) from the facility with which the tender laws enabled debtors to pay their creditors in depreciated paper money. (4) A few men were Whigs from ancient or hereditary hostility to persons, or families who were Tories. But a great majority of the people who took part with their country were Whigs (5) from a sincere and disinterested love to liberty and justice.

Both parties differed as much in their conduct as they did in the motives which actuated them. There were (1) furious Tories who had recourse to violence, and even to arms, to oppose the measures of the Whigs. (2) Writing and talking Tories. (3) Silent but busy Tories in disseminating Tory pamphlets and news papers and in circulating intelligence. (4) Peaceable and conscientious Tories who patiently submitted to the measures of the governing powers, and who shewed nearly equal kindness to the distressed of both parties during the war.

The Whigs were divided by their conduct into (1) Furious Whigs, who considered the tarring and feathering of a Tory as a greater duty and exploit than the extermination of a British army. These men were generally cowards, and shrunk from danger when called into the field by pretending sickness or some family disaster. (2) Speculating Whigs. These men infested our public councils, as well as the army, and did the country great mischief. A colonel of a regiment informed a friend of mine that he had made a great deal of money by buying poor horses for his waggon, and selling them again for a large profit after he had fattened them at the public expense. (3) Timid Whigs. The hopes of these people rose and fell with every victory and defeat of our armies. (4) Staunch Whigs. These were moderate in their tempers, but firm, inflexible, and persevering in their conduct. There was, besides these two classes of people, a great number of persons who were neither Whigs nor Tories. They had no fixed principles and accommodated their conduct to their interest, to events, and to their company. They were not without their uses. They protected both parties in many instances from the rage of each other, and each party always found hospitable treatment from them.

Perhaps the inhabitants of the United States might have been divided nearly into three classes, viz. Tories, Whigs, and persons who were neither Whigs nor Tories. The Whigs constituted the largest class. The 3rd class were a powerful reinforcement to them after the affairs of America assumed a uniformly prosperous appearance.

I remarked further that many of the children of Tory parents were Whigs; so were the Jews in all the States.

On the 2nd of July the Congress passed a vote declaring the United States to be free and independant, and on the 4th of the same month, they published the Declaration of Independance.

This act was called by General Green[32] a "bold speculation." It was happily a successful one. Human wisdom has derived more honor from it than it deserves. Most of the men who had been active in bringing it about, were blind actors in the business. Not one man in a thousand contemplated or wished for the independance of our country in 1774, and but few of those who assented to it, foresaw the immense influence it would soon have upon the national and individual characters of the Americans. It would have been a truth if God had said it, that "the way of man is not in himself, and that it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps" (Jeremiah X: 23).

On the 20th of July I took my seat in Congress in consequence of an appointment received from the convention that met to form a constitution for Pennsylvania. A few days afterwards I subscribed a copy upon parchment of the Declaration of Independance.[33]

I was surprized to observe how little of the spirit of that instrument actuated many of the members of Congress who had just before subscribed it. Proofs of this remark shall be given in the characters of several of them in another place.

I took part in several debates; the first or second time I spoke was against a motion for a committee of Congress to meet Lord Howe[34] in their private capacity to confer upon peace with Great Britain. On the same side of the question Jno. Adams, Dr. Witherspoon, and George Ross[35] spoke with uncommon eloquence. The last of those gentlemen began his speech by asking what the conduct of George the 3rd would be, had Congress proposed to negociate with him as Elector of Hanover instead of King of Great Britain. He would spurn, and very properly spurn the insulting proposal. "Let the American States," said he, "act in the same manner. We are bound to cherish the honor of our country which is now committed to our care. Nothing could dishonour the Sovereign of Britain that would not in equal circumstances dishonour us." In the conclusion of my speech, I said that "our country was far from being in a condition to make it necessary for us to humble ourselves at the feet of Great Britain. We had lost a battle, and a small island, but the city and State of New York were still in possession of their independance. But suppose that State had been conquered; suppose half the States in the Union had been conquered; nay, suppose all the States in the Union except one had been conquered, still let that one not renounce her independance; but I will go further: should this solitary state, the last repository of our freedom, be invaded, let her not survive her precious birthright, but in yielding to superior force, let her last breath be spent in uttering the word *Independance*." The speakers in favor of the motion were Ed. Rutledge, Thos. Lynch, Jno. Stone,[36] and several others. One of them, in answer to the concluding sentence of my speech, said "he would much rather live with *dependance* than die with *independance* upon his lips." The motion was carried with some modification. The committee appointed to confer with Lord Howe were Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Ed. Rutledge. Jno. Adams objected for a while to going upon this embassy, but was prevailed upon by the minority to consent to it. They met on Staten Island, but the conference ended in a discovery that Lord Howe had no power to grant us peace, upon any other condition than rescinding the Declaration of Independance.[37]

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[32] Nathanael Greene, 1742-1786, distinguished soldier of the Revolution (DAB). See BR's brief but cogent characterization, p. 156.

[33] He signed, with 40 other members of Congress, on August 2 (John H. Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence, Its History*, New York, 1906).

[34] Sir William Howe, 5th Viscount, British commander-in-chief in North America 1775-1778 (DNB).

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[35] George Ross, 1730-1779, of Pennsylvania, signer of the Declaration of Independence. See BR's characterization, p. 150.

This was BR's second speech in Congress, the first having been on August 1, 1776, according to *Jour. Cont. Cong.* (see note 38 below) or July 30 (letter from BR to his wife, July (30?) 1776, in Yale Franklin Collection, cited by courtesy of Mr. L. H. Butterfield). The debate mentioned here took place on or about September 5, 1776. Witherspoon's speech was preserved; it is printed in *Jour. Cont. Cong.* VI, 1109.

[36] Edward Rutledge, 1749-1800, of South Carolina.

Thomas Lynch, Jr., 1749-1779, of South Carolina.

Thomas Stone (BR wrote "Jno." in error) 1743-1787, of Maryland.

These three were all signers of the Declaration of Independence. For biographical data see DAB; BR's characterizations of them are on pp. 153 and 151, below, respectively.

The issue of this negociation demonstrated that the time in which the States declared themselves to be independant, was the proper one. It prevented their dissolution after the defeat and the retreat of the American armies in the subsequent summer and autumn. It moreover produced a secession of Tories and timid Whigs from the councils of the United States, and left the government of the country in the hands of men of fixed and determined principles and tempers. Maryland had yielded a little to the gloomy complexion of public affairs. She had instructed her delegates in Congress to vote for an accommodation with Great Britain, any measure (meaning independance) to the contrary, and one of those delegates said to me in the street soon afterwards that General Howe's proclamation contained everything we could wish, and that we ought now to submit to Great Britain.

In the debates upon the confederation of the States I took a part with those gentlemen who objected to the small States having an equal vote with the large ones, and urged the necessity of the States being represented according to numbers, in order to render liberty equal and durable in our country.[38]

I spoke in several other debates upon questions of less magnitude than those which have been mentioned.[39]

During my attendance in Congress in Philadelphia I had the pleasure of being present at an interview between some chiefs of the Six Nations and Congress in their hall in the State House.[40] After a pause

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[37] A good account of the conference on Staten Island is given by Carl Van Doren in *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1945. BR wrote interestingly about it in a letter to his wife, Sept. 14, 1776 (Yale Franklin Collection).

[38] BR took part on August 1, 1776, in a debate on No. 17 of the Articles of Confederation, which read "In determining questions each colony shall have one vote." He concluded a vigorous speech with the words "When I entered that door, I considered myself a citizen of America" (*Jour. Cont. Cong.* VI, 1081, 1104, from notes taken by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, respectively).

[39] BR was a member of the committees on powder, medicine, the northern army, prisoners, and intelligence, besides one or two *ad hoc* committees (*Jour. Cont. Cong.* IV, V, VI).

[40] In July 1775, Congress, fearing hostile action by the Six Nations, drafted a letter asking for their neutrality in the war with Britain, and deputed commissioners to meet their chiefs. A conference was held at Pittsburgh in September 1775, and delegations from the Indians visited Congress twice, the first time on May 25 and 27, 1776. No report exists of the speeches on this occasion (*Jour. Cont. Cong.* II, 177, 251; IV, 392, 396).

The visit witnessed by BR took place December 5, 7, and 9, 1776. On Dec. 7 the Indians received a spoken address from Congress, asking for their friendship. On the 9th they made a reply, presumably as set down here by BR. The entry in *Jour. Cont. Cong.* states merely "having said nothing relative to matters between them and the of about ten minutes one of the chiefs rose from his seat, and pointing to the Sun said "The business of this day will end well. Yonder Sun rose clear this morning. The great Spirit is propitious to us. Brothers, we received the commissioners you sent us at the little council fire at Pittsburgh. We wiped the sweat from their bodies. We cleaned the dust from their legs. We pulled the thorns from their feet. We took their staffs from their hands, and placed them against the tree of peace. We took their belts from their waists, and afterwards conducted them to the seats of peace." In retiring, they all shook hands with every member of Congress.

It was while I was in Congress that I was sent for to visit a certain Captain, formerly a Dr. Smith[41] of the British Army, who was confined in the new jail as a prisoner. His offence was an attempt to excite

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United States, no notice was taken of it, and they withdrew" (v, 392, 396; vi, 1006, 1011, 1013). BR's original draft of this story is in the 1777 notebook, in which he entered it April 8, 1777 (see note 30, p. 117).

[41] BR was particularly sensitive to Smyth's charges at this time because Cobbett had quoted them in the first number of *The Rush Light*, Feb. 15, 1800. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, 1745-1814, who afterward claimed to be a great-grandson of Charles II of England (*Petition of F. S. Stuart to the Hon. the Commons House of Parliament*, London 1811), was a doctor of medicine. He settled in Virginia, near Williamsburg, and afterward at Port Tobacco, Maryland. At the outbreak of the Revolution he offered his services to the British army, was made captain in the Queen's Rangers, and in the winter of 1775-1776 was ordered on a journey to Pittsburgh with plans and orders for an ambitious military movement in the Ohio Valley. He was captured in Western Maryland and imprisoned at Philadelphia from January to December 1776. According to his own account he was neglectfully and even brutally treated. BR, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader and Dr. Thomas Bond were delegated by Congress to investigate the health of Smyth and his fellow prisoners. No written report about Smyth seems to have been preserved, although there is a report on one of the others, Connoly, by Dr. Cadwalader, in the ms. papers of the Continental Congress, Library of Congress, 78, v, 39. The complaints of Captain Smyth recur several times in volumes iv, v, vi of *Jour. Cont. Cong.* The prisoners obtained no relief. They were transferred to Baltimore when the fall of Philadelphia became imminent. Smyth escaped in January 1777 and ultimately reached a British ship.

A pamphlet describing these adventures, *Narrative or Journal of Capt. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth*, was published in America, dated New York, December 1777, and Philadelphia, February 1778. It was incorporated, with slight changes, in Smyth's *A Tour in the United States of America*, 2 vols., London, 1784. The abuse of which BR complains is on pp. 18-19 of the former and vol. 2, p. 296 of the latter publication, as follows:

"Dr. Benjamin Rush, then a member of the Congress, a man eminent in physic, but as eminent in rebellion, and still more so in unfulfilled professions, after tantalizing me with the expectation of a parole, exchange, and assurance of very great regard and commiseration, came one day and informed me, that many members of the Congress declared they personally knew me to be so determinedly inimical to the independence of the American States, and to have always exerted such influences and interest against them, that I need not expect or hope for any kind of indulgence whatsoever, not even to save life."

the Indians to make war upon the frontier settlements of our country. He was a good deal indisposed, and wished very much to be liberated from jail upon parole. I honestly and frequently attempted to obtain this favor for him, but without success. The prejudices of the Congress were strong, and nearly unanimous against him. I endeavored to sooth him under his disappointment, and to render his confinement as easy to him as possible until he was exchanged. I have introduced these facts in order to contradict an assertion this man afterwards published in London respecting my conduct to him in a work which he called "Travels through the United States of America." I recollect a Whig citizen who first shewed me his abuse of me in a New York paper in the coffee house said I was rightly served, for I was always taking the part of some Tory rascal.

After the retreat of the American Army through New Jersey, Sir William Howe discovered a design to pursue them across the Delaware, and to take possession of Philadelphia. Under an apprehension of this event, the Congress adjourned on the [12th] of [December, 1776] to meet in [12] days at Baltimore in the state of Maryland.

Upon the motion for leaving Philadelphia Samuel Adams (who seldom spoke in Congress) delivered a short, but very animating speech. His feelings raised him frequently upon his toes at the close of his sentences. There was nothing very oratorial in his manner, but what he said infused a sudden vigor into the minds of every member of the House.

As soon as Congress adjourned, I took measures to provide a safe retreat for my family at a relation's house on the Susquehannah in Cecil County in Maryland.[42] I took part of my furniture and all my books out of town, and I left them at the house of Philip Price near Derby [Darby].[43] At this house Sir. Wm. Howe made his headquarters in one of his excursions from Philadelphia, and on one of my mahogany tea tables he wrote his dispatches to England in which he gives an account of the events which closed his campaign of 1776. This table bears the marks of his ink to this day. My property received no other injury from him. Having left my family with my kinsman Col. Hall, I returned hastily to join the Philadelphia militia who were ordered out to reinforce General Washington's army, and thus to prevent the reduction of our Capital. I was then resolved to stand or fall with my country. I accompanied my fellow citizens to Bristol where I remained for some time, superintending their health, and encouraging them to firmness and perseverance in defense of our liberties and independance.

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[42] By "family" BR delicately indicates that his young wife was pregnant. Their first child, John Rush, was born at the Cecil County retreat July 17, 1777.

The "relation" at whose house Julia Rush stayed was probably Elihu Hall, b. 1747 or 8, d. ca. 1808, son of the Elisha Hall who married BR's maternal aunt Ruth Hall. BR calls him "Col. Hall." In the note in Biddle, p. 241, on John Rush, he is called "Elihu Hall, Esq." Both of these titles fit Elihu Hall (of Elisha) for he was a lieutenant colonel in the Cecil County militia and afterward a justice of the peace (Pleasants ms. notes). This Elihu Hall inherited lands in Cecil County, part of the great Mt. Welcome-Octorara estate, which he afterwards lost through financial difficulties. See also Christopher Johnson, "The Hall Family of Calvert County," *Maryland Hist. Mag.* 1913, VIII. There is considerable confusion in the records between this Elihu Hall and his uncle and first cousin of the same name and neighborhood.

[43] Philip Price, "farmer over Skuilkill," was a patient of BR about this time (Index of Accounts, Rush mss.).

On the [24th?] of December[44] I visited Genl. Washington in company with Col. Jos. Reed[45] at the General's quarters about 10 miles above Bristol, and four from the Delaware. I spent a night at a farm house near to him, and the next morning passed near an hour with him in private. He appeared much depressed, and lamented the ragged and dissolving state of his army in affecting terms. I gave him assurance of the disposition of Congress to support him, under his present difficulties and distresses. While I was talking to him, I observed him to play with his pen and ink upon several small pieces of paper. One of them by accident fell upon the floor near my feet. I was struck with the inscription upon it. It was "Victory or Death."

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[44] BR left the date of this visit blank, and also omitted the words specifying its relation to the evening mentioned in the first line of the following paragraph. Washington had sent for Reed after receiving a disquieting letter from him dated Dec. 22 (Stryker). The visit of Rush and Reed therefore must have taken place on the 23rd or more likely the 24th. The night BR was at Dunk's ferry was that of Dec. 25-26.

[45] Joseph Reed, 1741-1785, was born at Trenton and attended Princeton where he was graduated B.A. 1757. He studied law with Richard Stockton and at the Middle Temple, London. He became a colonel of the Pennsylvania militia. Washington, when appointed commander in chief, made Reed his military secretary and later adjutant general of the Continental army. After the war he was a leader of the radical party of his State and was president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania 1778-1781 (DAB).

Just before the battle of Trenton, Reed was greatly discouraged about the war and talked despondently to BR during their trip to headquarters. However, his conduct immediately thereafter during the Trenton-Princeton campaign was brave and his knowledge of the terrain was invaluable. In the election period of 1782 his military record and his loyalty in 1776-1777 were anonymously attacked and a controversy ensued with General John Cadwalader, whom Reed thought to be the accuser. At this time BR, who was in the opposite political camp, testified publicly to Reed's defeatist attitude during their trip together in December 1776.

This petty business was reopened in 1867 when George Bancroft the historian again disparaged Reed's loyalty, having confused him with a Col. Charles Read who did go over to the British in December 1776. This led to a bitter little war of pamphlets by Reed's grandson, Wm. B. Reed, and BR's grandson Benjamin Rush (W. S. Stryker, *The Reed Controversy*, Trenton, N.J., 1876).

On the [following?] evening I was ordered by General Cadwallider[46] to attend the militia at Dunks's ferry.[47] An attempt was made to cross the Delaware at that place by Gen. Cadwallider in order to cooperate with Genl. Washington next morning in an attack upon the Hessians who were cantooned in the villages on the Jersey side of the river. Great bodies of floating ice rendered the passage of the river impracticable. We returned to Bristol in a heavy snow storm in the middle of the night. The next morning we heard that General Washington had been more successful in crossing the river above Trenton, and that he had surprized and taken 1000 Hessians at that place. Genl. Cadwallider followed him to the Jersey shore on the afternoon of the same day, and slept at Burlington with his detachment the next night. The next day he marched to Bordentown and from thence to Crosswicks where he remained for two days. I had reason to believe here, that in my interview with Genl. Washington, he had been meditating upon his attack upon the Hessians at their posts on the Jersey side of the Delaware, for I found that the countersign of his troops at the surprise of Trenton was "Victory or Death."

While the Philadelphia militia lay at Crosswicks, I rode to Trenton to spend a day with some of the officers of the regular army which still remained there. I alighted at General St. Clair's[48] quarters, where

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[46] John Cadwalader, 1742-1786, of Philadelphia, served as brigadier general in command of the Pennsylvania militia in the battles of Princeton, the Brandywine, and Monmouth (DAB).

[47] During BR's brief period of service in the field he participated in one of the most stirring and important military episodes of the Revolution. For a good summary of the fighting Dec. 25, 1776-Jan. 7, 1777, see T. J. Wertenbaker, "The Battle of Princeton," in *The Princeton Battle Monument*, Princeton, N.J., 1922; for details, see W. S. Stryker, *The Battles of Princeton and Trenton*, Boston, 1898; Alfred H. Bill, *The Campaign of Princeton, 1776-1777*, Princeton, 1948. BR's description of the events he witnessed is in complete agreement with the historical records. The following list of dates may help in following his movements in relation to the campaign: Washington crossed the Delaware in the night of Dec. 25-26 and took Trenton Dec. 26. Cadwalader's force, to which BR was attached, failed to cross at Dunk's ferry (near Bristol, Pa.) before dawn on the 26th but succeeded on the 27th. It camped at Burlington, N.J., Dec. 28, Bordentown Dec. 29, and Crosswicks Dec. 30-31. BR's visit to Trenton and the council of war took place on Jan. 1. BR carried Washington's letter to Crosswicks that night and returned with Cadwalader to Trenton Jan. 2, a.m. The "Cannonade" or second battle of Trenton occurred that afternoon. BR spent the night of Jan. 2-3 with the wounded, unaware of Washington's surprise departure. The battle of Princeton took place on Jan. 3. BR reached the scene about Jan. 6, judging from two letters printed in R. H. Lee, *Life of R. H. Lee*, Philadelphia, 1825, II, 163-5.

[48] Arthur St. Clair, 1736-1808, was born in Scotland and in his youth attended Edinburgh University briefly and was a medical apprentice to William Hunter in London. He was a brigadier general in the Continental army at the battles of Trenton and Princeton (DAB). Several references to his defeat by the Indians in 1791 will be found later in these mss.

I dined and spent the afternoon with General Mercer[49] and Col. Clement Biddle.[50] It was a day which I have ever since remembered with pleasure. Col. Biddle gave me the details of the victory at Trenton a few days before. The two generals, both Scotchmen, and men of highly cultivated minds, poured forth strains of noble sentiments in their conversation. General Mercer with great composure said "he would not be conquered, but that he would cross the mountains and live among the Indians, rather than submit to the power of Great Britain in any of the civilized states." In the evening an account was received that the British army then at Princeton intended to attack our posts at Trenton and Crosswicks. A council of war was held at General Washington's quarters to determine what steps should be taken to oppose them. A division took place in the council upon the question whether the troops at Crosswicks should be drawn to Trenton, or left where they were to occasion a diversion of the British forces. General Knox[51] proposed [that] as I was connected with Genl. Cadwallider's corps, I should be called into the council, to give an opinion upon the question. I was accordingly sent for, and heard from General Washington a brief state of the controversy. He then asked my advice. I said that I was not a judge of what was proper in the business before the council, but one thing I knew well, that all the Philadelphia militia would be very happy in being under his immediate command, and that I was sure they would instantly obey a summons to join his troops at Trenton. After this information I retired, and in a few minutes was called in again and requested by Genl. Washington to be the bearer of a letter to General Cadwallider. I readily consented, and set off for Crosswicks at ten o'clock accom-

[49] Hugh Mercer, ca. 1721-1777, brigadier general in the Continental army, was born at Aberdeen, Scotland, studied medicine in the same city, and was present at the battle of Culloden (1746) as assistant surgeon of a Highland regiment. He took part in the French and Indian War, and afterward practised medicine at Fredericksburg, Va. He was a man of distinguished talents and character, whose death from wounds received at Princeton, a few days after BR met him, was a great loss to his adopted country (DAB). BR attended Mercer for several days, after the battle, on orders from Washington (Stryker, *op. cit.* in preceding note).

[50] Clement Biddle, 1740-1814, of Philadelpha, brother of Owen Biddle, was one of the "fighting Quakers." At the time of the Trenton-Princeton campaign he was deputy quartermaster general for the militia of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He afterward served under General Greene. After the Revolution he was a merchant and held governmental positions in Philadelphia (DAB).

[51] Henry Knox (1750-1806) afterward Secretary of War and of the Navy in Washington's cabinet (see DAB), at this time colonel of a regiment of Continental artillery, was promoted brigadier general Dec. 27, 1776 (*Jour. Cont. Cong.* VI, 1043).

panied by Wm. Hall,[52] one of the Philadelphia troop of horse. The weather was damp and cold, the roads muddy, and the night extremely dark. When we came within a mile of Crosswicks we met Col. Delany[53] who had the command of the patroles. He rode up to me and presenting a cocked pistol to my breast, demanded who I was. I answered "An old friend." "I don't know you, Sir (said he), tell me your name," still holding his pistol to my breast. I then told my name and my business. He ordered us to be conducted to Genl. Cadwallider's quarters, to whom in his bed I delivered Genl. Washington's letter. It was then about 1 o'clock. He instantly rose, and set his brigade in motion. We reached Trenton about 7 o'clock in the morning. I went to Genl. St. Clair's quarters, and begged the favor of his bed for a few hours. Just as I began to sleep, an alarm gun was fired at the General's door. I started up, and the first creature I saw was a black woman crying and wringing her hands in my room. She was followed by Genl. St. Clair with a composed countenance. I asked him what was the matter. He said the enemy were advancing, and "what do you intend to do?" said I. "Why, fight them," said he with a smile. He then took down his sword, and girdled it upon his thigh with a calmness such as I thought seldom took place at the expectation of a battle. I followed him out of the room, and mounted my horse in order to join the Philadelphia militia. I met them a little below Trenton, and rode slowly along with them towards the enemy. I asked one of them, Jno. Chaloner,[54] how he felt. He answered "As if I were going to sit down to a good breakfast." The greatest part of the day was spent by the troops under arms. In the afternoon a canonade began in which several soldiers were wounded. All was now hurry, confusion and noise. General Washington and his aids rode by the Philadelphia militia in all the terrible aspect of war. Genl. Mifflin, in a blanket coat, galloped at the head of a body of Pennsylvania militia. He appeared to be all soul. I recollect the ardor with which he called to them to quicken their steps. His command was not without effect.

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[52] William Hall, son of Franklin's one-time partner David Hall, was second sergeant of the aristocratic City Light Horse Troop. See also p. 168, note 20.

[53] Sharp Delany, ca.1739-1799, raised a company of militia in 1776. He was major in the Philadelphia militia in 1777, colonel in 1779. Active in politics during and after the war, he held several minor governmental posts and was collector of the port of Philadelphia for several years from 1784 (C. P. B. Jefferys, "The Provincial and Colonial History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia," *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1924, XLVIII).

[54] John Chaloner afterward became a merchant and auctioneer in Philadelphia (*Directories*, 1785, 1791, 1793).

They ran after him. General Knox was active and composed. In passing me he cried out "Your opinion last night was very fortunate for us. You have—" I shall not conclude the sentence, for a man deserves no credit for an accident in which neither design nor judgement are discovered. The canonade continued between the two armies for several hours. Towards evening a few platoons of musquetry were fired. The American army retired and left the British in possession of Trenton. The scene which accompanied and followed this combat was new to me. The first wounded man that came off the field was a New England soldier. His right hand hung a little above his wrist by nothing but a peice of skin. It had been broken by a cannon ball. I took charge of him, and directed him to a house on the river which had been appropriated for a hospital. In the evening all the wounded, about 20 in number, were brought to this hospital and dressed by Dr. Cochran,[55] myself, and several young surgeons who acted under our direction. We all lay down on some straw in the same room with our wounded patients. It was now for the first time war appeared to me in its awful plenitude of horrors. I want words to describe the anguish of my soul, excited by the cries and groans and convulsions of the men who lay by my side. I slept two or three hours. About 4 o'clock Dr. Cochran went up to Trenton to inquire for our army. He returned in haste, and said they were not to be found. We now procured waggons, and after putting our patients in them directed that they should follow us to Bordentown, to which place we supposed our Army had retreated. At this place we heard a firing. We were ignorant from whence it came, 'till next morning, when we heard that General Washington had met a part of the British army at Princeton on his way to the high lands of Morris County in New Jersey, thro' a circuitous rout that had been pointed out to him the night before by Col. Jos. Read [Reed], and that he had defeated them. We set off immediately for Princeton and near the town passed over the field of battle still red in many places with human blood. We found a number of wounded officers and soldiers belonging to both armies. Among the former was General Mercer, and a Capt. McPherson, a British officer.[56] They were under the care of a British surgeon's mate, who committed them both to me. General Mercer had been wounded by a bayonet in his belly in several places, but he received a stroke with a butt of a musquet on the side of his head, which put an end to his life a week after the battle. When I went into Capt. McPherson's room, I was introduced to him by my name. "Are you Dr. Rush," said he "Capt. Leslie's friend?" I told him I was. "Oh! Sir," said he, "he loved you like a brother." This amiable and accomplished young man, the second son of the Earl of Leven, fell in the battle near Princeton.[57] His death had been announced to me the morning before by a prisoner who belonged to his company. I joined McPherson, who belonged to the 17th Regiment with him, in tributes of affection and praise to his memory. His body was thrown into his baggage waggon, and carried by the American army along with them. It was discovered at Pluckamin [Pluckemin]. In his pocket was found a letter from me, in which I had requested if the fortune of war should throw him into the hands of the American army, to show that letter to General Washington or General Lee, either of whom would, I expected, indulge him in a parole to visit Philadelphia, where I begged he would make my house his home. This letter was carried to General Mifflin who obtained an order in consequence of it to bury him with the honors of war, in the church yard at Pluckamin. In the summer of 1777 I visited his grave and plucked a blade of grass from it, and at the end of the war placed a stone over it with an inscription designating his age, family, rank in the army and the time and manner of his death. I informed his sister Lady Jane Belsches [Stuart][58] of this act in a letter several years afterwards. In her answer to this letter she says "Why did you not send me that blade of grass? I would have preserved its verdure forever with my tears."[59]

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[55] John Cochran, 1730-1807, studied medicine privately. He served as surgeon's mate in the French and Indian War, and afterward practised at New Brunswick, N.J. He was made physician and surgeon-general to the middle department of the army, in 1777, after the events narrated here. In 1781 he succeeded Shippen as director general of the hospitals (DAB).

[56] John McPherson entered the British army in 1763; he was promoted to lieutenant of the 17th Regiment of Foot, 1769, and to captain 1775 (Stryker, W. S., *Battles of Princeton and Trenton*, Boston, 1898).

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[57] The Honorable William Leslie (1751-1777), second son of the 6th Earl of Leven, whose hospitality to BR in his Edinburgh days is recorded earlier in this book, was a captain in the 17th Foot, having been commissioned ensign in the 42nd regiment in 1770, lieutenant in the 17th 1773, captain 1776 (see Fraser, cited in the following note).

[58] Lady Jane Leslie (1753-1829) eldest daughter of the 6th Earl of Leven, married in 1775 Sir John Wishart Belsches Stuart, Bart., of Fettercairn (Sir Wm. Fraser, *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslies, Earls of Leven*, Edinburgh, 1890, vol. 1, p. 352).

The answering letter from Lady Jane has not been found in the Rush mss., although earlier and later ones were preserved. They confirm, incidentally, the impression given by BR's Edinburgh journal (Indiana University ms.) that he was in love with her during his student days.

[59] The stone BR placed over William Leslie's grave still stands in Pluckemin churchyard (7 miles north of Somerville, N.J., on Route 206).

Capt. McPherson was wounded in the lungs. He recovered in consequence of the loss of 140 ounces of blood.

Four British soldiers had their legs amputated by my order. They all recovered.

At Princeton I met my wife's father who had been plundered of all his household furniture and stock by the British army, and carried a prisoner to New York, from whence he was permitted to return to his family upon parole.

As soon as my wounded patients were out of danger, I set off to attend my duty in Congress.[60] I passed a few days with my wife at my kinsman's Col. Hall's on my way to Baltimore.

During the preceeding autumn I had joined Mr. Dickinson and several other of the most enlightened Whigs in Pennsylvania in a public testimony against the constitution that had been framed by the convention that met for that purpose in the summer.[61] This act had destroyed my popularity with the Assembly that had convened to legislate under that constitution.

[60] At the end of January, 1777, as we learn from a statement BR made in the controversy over Joseph Reed's conduct (see note 45, p. 124).

[61] A clear and detailed account of the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 and its consequences is found in *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania*, by R. L. Brunhouse, Harrisburg, 1942. In brief, the moderate Whigs of the propertied and commercial classes, who had led the country to the brink of revolution, lost political control in 1776 to a much more radical group including the city proletariat, the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants, and the farmers. Because the moderates had not wanted to carry their opposition to Britain as far as actual revolution, their opponents were abetted by the radical revolutionists in Congress. Both the local and the national radicals felt it necessary to overthrow the old forms of provincial government in Pennsylvania, in order to bring the State into the Revolution. A constitutional convention was set up in July 1776 and promptly took over the functions of the State's assembly. It framed a radical constitution which provided for a unicameral legislature, a weak plural executive (Supreme Council) without a veto on legislation, and a council of censors to meet every seven years, with extensive supervisory powers over executive and judiciary. In this council of censors each county had equal representation.

This constitution of 1776 was bitterly opposed by the moderates, i.e. Republicans or "anti-constitutionalists," among whom Morris, Dickinson, Wilson, and Rush were active. They regained political control and drew up a new State Constitution in 1790.

VI. *Physician General in Washington's Army*

I REMAINED in the Congress 'till [February 27, 1777] at which time I was left out of the delegation.[1] I was not offended nor mortified at this event, for I wished to hold a station for which I was better qualified, and in which I could be more useful to my country. The American army had suffered greatly in the campaign of 1776 from the want of system, and perhaps knowledge, in the management of the medical department. I wished to introduce order and oeconomy into our hospitals, and for this purpose recommended the system which time and experience had proved to be a good one in the British army. Its principal merit and advantages consisted in the directing and purveying businesses being independant of each other. In vain did I plead publickly and privately for the adoption of this system. Such was the temper of Congress at that time that its British origin helped to produce its rejection. The system established by Congress placed the directing or supreme medical power and the purveyorship in the same hands. I reluctantly accepted the commission of Physician general of the military hospitals under it, and entered upon my duty with a heart devoted to the interests of my country. The evils of the system soon developed themselves. A fatal hospital fever was generated in the month of May in 1777 in the house of employment[2] by our sick being too much crowded. Several of the attending surgeons and mates died of it, and most of them were infected with it. I called upon the Director[3] and asked for more rooms for the sick. This was denied. Here was the beginning of sufferings and mortality in the American army which had nearly destroyed it. A physician who practices in a hospital or elsewhere should have no check upon his prescriptions. Air, water, fire, and everything necessary to the relief or cure of the sick should be made to obey him. The reverse of this was the case in the military hospitals of the United States. No order was given or executed for food, medicines, liquors, or even apartments for the sick without the consent of the Director general who seldom went inside of a hospital, and whose business as Purveyor was sufficient to employ all his time. The warmth of summer lessened the evils which were experienced from the want of air in our hospitals, for it was easy to ventilate them by means of open doors and windows. I continued therefore to attend the sick during the summer months without complaining. I attended in the rear at the battle of Brandywine on the [11th of September, 1777] and had nearly fallen in the hands of the enemy by my delay in helping off the wounded. A few days after the battle I went with several surgeons into the British camp with a flag from Genl. Washington to dress the wounded belonging to the American Army who were left on the field of battle.[4] Here I saw and was introduced to a number of British officers. Several of them treated me with great politeness. I saw likewise within the British lines and conversed for some time with Jos. Galloway[5] and several other American citizens who had joined the British army. While I was at my quarters, I was waited upon by Col. Mawhood,[6] who said that he was deputed to convey to me the thanks of the officers of the 17th Regiment for my care of Capt. McPherson after the battle of Princeton. I was much struck in observing the difference between the discipline and order of the British and Americans. I lamented this upon my return. It gave offense and was ascribed to fear and to lack of attachment to the cause of my country.

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[1] On February 5 the Pennsylvania Assembly chose new delegates to Congress, all radicals except Robert Morris. According to E. C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, Washington, 1921, II, LXV, BR's last day in Congress was Feb. 27.

[2] The House of Employment was a building adjacent to the Philadelphia Almshouse, at Spruce and 11th Sts., in which manufactures of wool, hemp, and flax were carried on by the inmates (*History of the Philadelphia Almshouses and Hospitals*, by Charles Lawrence, Philadelphia, 1905). It was used for the care of sick soldiers in 1777 (*Diary of Christopher Marshall*, ed. by William Duane, Philadelphia, 1839).

[3] The Director was Dr. William Shippen, Jr.

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[4] Washington's letter to Lord Howe, September 13, 1777, arranging for the flag-of-truce party, is printed in *The Writings of George Washington*, Washington, 1933, IX, p. 217. It names "Doctors Rush, Leiper and Latimer, and Mr. Willet, a Mate in the Hospital with their attendants. . . . I have thought proper to add Drs. Way and Coats to the surgeons above mentioned." There is in the Rush mss. at the Ridgway Library a deposition concerning the affair made by Dr. Henry Latimer in 1804, relative to a wound received by Matthew McConnell (q. v.) who was one of the officers cared for by the party. Latimer names "Doctor Rush, Physician General, Doctors Leiper and Coates, hospital physicians and surgeons, Doctor Way (a volunteer) and myself."

For Henry Latimer, 1752-1819, of Delaware, see Kelly-Burrage. He became surgeon-general 1813-1815, and U.S. senator 1795-1801.

BR had an apprentice named Andrew Leiper, of Maryland, in 1771 (Ms. List of Apprentices). Nothing more is known of him.

Elias Willard or Willet of New York was hospital surgeon's mate and hospital surgeon, 1775-1779. (F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army*, Washington, 1914.)

About Dr. Coats or Coates there is no certain information. Heitman, *op. cit.*, lists two Drs. Coates, both named John, but both are said to have resigned their commissions before the battle of the Brandywine.

Dr. Way was BR's friend Nicholas Way, mentioned elsewhere in this book.

[5] Joseph Galloway, ca.1731-1803, lawyer, was long a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and was Speaker 1766-1775. His efforts for harmony between the colonies and the mother country were carried on into the 1st Continental Congress, of which he was a member. He refused membership in the 2nd Congress and instead joined Lord Howe, who made him civil administrator when the British occupied Philadelphia. His U.S. estates were confiscated and after the war he lived in England on a British pension (DAB).

[6] Charles Mawhood, lieutenant-colonel of the 17th British regiment of foot, was in command of that regiment when Washington made his surprise march on Princeton (W. S. Stryker, *The Battles of Princeton and Trenton*, Boston, 1898).

In the autumn and winter the mortality among the soldiers revived in the hospitals from their want of room and air, and of many other things necessary for sick people. Many hundred of them were buried every week in different villages in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The scene was shocking to humanity and alarming to the friends of the Revolution. I remonstrated in vain with the Director general for more accommodations and comforts for the sick. My colleagues and assistants deplored the distresses of our hospitals in common with myself. I called upon them to concur with me in an application to the Commander in Chief and to Congress to alter the hospital system, but they declined having anything to do with the business. At this time the Director had immense power in his hands, and was supported by two brothers in law in Congress.[7] Had I consulted my interest or a temporary reputation, I should at this time have retired from the public service, to avoid sharing in the guilt I witnessed, by my silence. But I loved my country and the brave men who had offered their lives for its defense too well to shrink from what I conceived to be my duty upon this occasion. I forsaw my own destruction in appealing to the justice of my country in favor of the defenders of their liberty. But I forsaw likewise the success of my appeal, as far as it related to the suffering army, for I was sure men not interested in the continuance of error and vice could not fail of yielding redress to the complaints I should lay before them. I first wrote a State of our hospitals to Genl. Washington. The following is a copy of my letter:[8]

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[7] The wife of William Shippen, Jr., was Alice Lee of Virginia, sister of Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee.

[8] BR left almost 8 pages blank for this letter but never actually copied it into his memoir. After the word "Sir" he wrote "See 4° mem^{m} book No. 1-4," i.e. the manuscript book now in the Ridgway Library of Philadelphia, entitled *Letters, Facts, and Observations upon a Variety of Subjects* (part of which is printed in the present volume, pp. 172-212). It contains on pp. 6-12 a draft of the letter to Washington. Since the material in the memorandum book dates chiefly from 1789-1791, it is probable that the letter was copied into it about that time from the original draft. It was, nevertheless, this recopied draft that BR intended to preserve in his memoir and it is printed here in as literal a transcription as possible.

The fair copy sent to General Washington, dated "Princetown, December 26, 1777"

Sir,

I have delayed troubling your Excell^{y} with the state of our hospitals in hopes you would hear it from the D. genl. whose business it is to correspond with your Excel^{y} upon this subject. But I can no longer restrain the distress I feel for my brave countrymen who suffer under our hands. I beg leave therefore to look up to you, and thro' you to the congress as the only powers that can redress our greivances and do justice. It gave me great pain to hear a few days ago from a Surgeon's mate who escaped from the enemy that the whole amount of their sick & wounded in Philadelphia amounted only to 1000. Ours amount to 5000 in the hospitals. Besides these I am informed 1500 more unfit for duty in the camp. The sufferings of Gen. Howe's troops from the want of tents—cloathes—and rest during the greatest part of the campaign have been but little inferior to the sufferings of our army from the same causes. The great disprop^{n} of sick therefore on our side must be sought for chiefly in the negligence and ignorance of Officers in preserving the health of their men. But the number of our sick would cease to be alarming if our hospitals could ensure them such accommodations as would ensure them a speedy recovery. But this is far from being the case. There cannot be a greater calamity for a sick man than to come into a hospital at this Season of the year. Old disorders are prolonged and new ones contracted among us. This last is so much the case that I am safe when I assert that 9 out of 10 who die under our hands perish with fevers *caught* in our hospitals. When I consider the present army under your command as the last hope of America, I am alarmed & distressed at these facts beyond measure. I can see nothing to prevent the same mortality this winter among our troops that prevailed last year. Every day deprives us of four or five patients out of 500 or 600 in the hospital under my care at this place. The same complaints are heard from every quarter. The Surgeons have been blamed for these

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is in the Library of Congress (papers of George Washington, vol. 93), and will be printed by L. H. Butterfield in his forthcoming volume of Rush letters. Comparison of the two versions shows that the letter received a good deal of verbal revision and correction, before it was sent. The final version is somewhat more restrained and less vivid than what is printed here. It is about one page longer than the draft. The additional portion contains an interesting proposal to billet such of the sick as could help themselves, in farmhouses for the sake of better air and diet than the hospitals afforded.

things—But without reason. I shall briefly point out the real causes of them.

1st: Too many of the sick are crowded together in one house. I have seen 20 sick men in one room in fevers & fluxes large eno' to contain only 6 or 8 well men without danger to their health. Six of our Surgeons have died from attend^{g} the sick under these circumstances and almost every other one has been ill in a greater or lesser degree. It should be the business as it is certainly their interest to prevent the sick being thus crowded. But unfort^{y} the congress have given the sole power of judging of these things to the Dg & his deputies, who from the nature of their business are never obliged to go inside of a hospital.

2. The Hospitals are but half provided with the stores necessary for sick people, and these are too often withheld from them from the want of checks upon the lower officers of the hospitals. Beef and bread are by no means suitable diet for men in fevers.

3. There is a want of a number of Hospital shirts—sheets & blankets—to be worne by the sick. Nothing but a miracle can save the life of a soldier who lies in a shirt and blanket w:^{ch} he has worn for 4 or 5 months before he came into the hospital.

4. There is a want of guards & an officer to command at every hospital. If no other inconveniences attended this want, than the men's losing all the discipline and sense of subord^{n} they bring from the camp with them it would make it a matter of importance to keep an Ensign's or Lieut. G. at every hospital But there are other inconveniences attend^{g} it. The men by going out when they please catch colds—sell thier arms, blankets & cloathes to buy rum, or diet improper for them—they plunder and insult the inhabitants while within doors they quarrel and fight with each other—disobey the surgeons, nurses &c dirty their rooms with impunity. An officer called a mili^{y} Inspector is always stat^{d} near a hospital in the British army, whose business it is to prevent all the above evils, & to report deficiences of all kinds to the com^{r} in chief. Such an officer wth us w^{d} save many hund^{d} lives and many 1000 pounds to the Cont^{t} every year.

5. The med. Establishment is a bad one. It places all power in the Dg: and gives him the most incom^{ble} officers. If he provided only medicines & stores for the sick it w^{d} more than eno' for him. But the congress have made him supreme in the practice & physic in surgery and have made him (who can never enter our hos-

> pitals) the sole judge of all their wants. It is as improp. for him to do his duty as it w^{d} be for a com^{r} in chief of an army to do the duties of a qr mr and com^{g} gen^{l} The Offices held by the Dg are held by *three* phys. in the B: Hosp. who are all indep^{t} of each other, and who by checking each other secure every kind office, & every store intended for them by government. Most of the evils & suff^{gs} I have described flow from our wanting a System like the British.

This letter was transmitted to Congress, in consequence of which the Director general and myself were summoned to appear before a committee of their body appointed to hear us in York town.[9] My complaints were heard, and the grievances of the hospitals were redressed, agreeably to the plan I had recommended (see Journals of Congress for Feb. 6, 1778). But I was crushed in the ruins of the fabric of corruption which I had demolished. The friends of the Director partook of his resentments. I forsaw nothing but discord, inflamed by my success in overthrowing the Director's system, had I continued in the hospital. I therefore resigned my commission, on the 30th of January, 1778.[10] The Director was continued in office.

On the 25th of February I sent Genl. Washington an account of sundry charges of malpractices in the hospitals by the Director general.[11] This account was transmitted to Congress by the General, who in consequence thereof appointed a committee to hear and decide upon the contents of my letter. I objected to appearing before this committee, and urged as a reason for it, that all the medical staff were subject to the articles of war, and that a court martial was the proper tribunal to try the Director for the charges I had brought against him. Here this disagreeable business ended on my part. A year afterwards[12] Dr. Morgan (who believed himself to have been dismissed from the Directorship of the military hospitals of the Army in 1776 by the present Director) presented the same and several other

[9] Washington's reply to BR's letter, dated from Headquarters, Valley Forge, January 12, 1778, is printed in *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, editor, Washington, x, 1933, pp. 296-297. "York town" is York, Pennsylvania.

[10] BR's letter of resignation is preserved in the Library of Congress, among the papers of the Continental Congress, 78, XIX, 205.

[11] This letter to Washington was read in Congress and referred to a committee (*Writings of Washington*, ed. by Fitzpatrick, XI, p. 125, note). The original letter is in the Library of Congress, papers of George Washington, vol. 22, folio 35, and a copy is in the papers of the Continental Congress, 78, XIX, folio 211.

[12] The trial of Shippen occurred in 1780, not 1779 as implied here.

charges against him to Congress, in consequence of which he was tried by a court martial at Morris town in New Jersey. I appeared as a witness against him. The court sat several weeks, during which time several of its members were changed, and the Director admitted to dine with several of the general officers of the Army. He was finally acquitted but without honor, of the most criminal charges against him. One of the court informed me several years afterwards that there was a majority of but a single vote in favor of his acquittal.[13]

This transaction will be ascribed to the same indiscreet zeal for justice and humanity that marked my conduct upon a former occasion. I ought not to repent of it, although the consequences of it have been injurious and distressing to me. Were there no public advocates for the miserable and oppressed, what would be the mass of human evils? I am satisfied my sacrifices and sufferings put an end to the evils of which I complained, and the alteration I effected in the hospital arrangements was the means of saving many lives. It saved likewise, after Mr. Morris became Financier, several millions of dollars annually to the United States.[14]

I retired from the army to Princeton and lived with my wife and one child[15] at her father's in Princeton. Here I led an inactive, and of course, a disagreeable life. The village of Princeton afforded no prospects of business in my profession, and I had no desire by changing my place of residence to enter into country practice. In this situation I resolved to study the law, and to come forward to the bar in New Jersey. My father in law highly approved of the proposal when

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[13] The whole story of this dispute about the medical service and BR's quarrel with Washington is clearly and fairly told by Goodman, chapters V and VI. What BR has written here is in agreement with all that has come out since about the affair, except that he did not choose to tell his descendants about the anonymous letter he wrote to Patrick Henry, January 12, 1778, reflecting on Washington's abilities. He was in later years greatly troubled about the letter and tried to suppress it.

This is an appropriate place to discuss the often-repeated gossip that BR resigned his commission because he was involved in the so-called Conway Cabal. Of course he would scarcely have admitted any such thing in this memoir, even if it were true, but between the lines there is nothing of treason to be discerned, and surely the dissension with Shippen was enough to make BR's position in the army untenable. He was admittedly critical of Washington in 1777-1778, not only in the matter of maladministration in the hospitals, but also as a military leader; he admired Conway and Gates and was friendly with some of the malcontents who gathered around them. Yet Washington, who was very anxious and suspicious about the alleged plot, never accused BR of being in it, and in after years the two were moderately friendly.

[14] Robert Morris, 1734-1806, banker and statesman, the financier of the Revolution, founder of the Bank of North America (DAB).

[15] For the story of the ill-starred John Rush, see Appendix 3.

I mentioned it to him, and promised his influence to have me admitted to practice in a year, or in two years at furthest. My age, which was then 32, and the labor of acquiring a sound profession did not discourage me from this undertaking. Just as I was preparing to begin my new studies, I heard that the British army was preparing to evacuate Philadelphia. This suspended my new enterprise. In a few weeks they left the city, and I returned to it with my family on the 21st of July. The filth left by the British Army in the streets created a good deal of sickness. I quickly recovered my business, with a large accession of new patients. In the month of September I was attacked with a bilious fever which had nearly destroyed my life. My recovery was slow, and the loss sustained by my long confinement was considerable. During the winter I recovered my usual health and activity in business.[16] I now turned my back for a while upon public pursuits, and devoted myself exclusively to the duties of my profession.

VII. *Characters of the Revolutionary Patriots*

Before I proceed any further in the narrative of such of my transactions as were of a political nature, I shall give a short account of those gentlemen who were most conspicuous for their talents and virtues, or for the offices they filled, between the years 1774 and 1778.[17] I shall begin with the characters of the members of Congress who subscribed the Declaration of Independance.[18] They were drawn up during the war. Some additions have been made to them since which were suggested by subsequent events.

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[16] The three sentences about the attack of fever were marked for deletion by BR, presumably because he was planning to write a separate history of his health (see p. 170). In restoring them, a few repetitive connecting words have been omitted.

[17] Mr. L. H. Butterfield remarks (personal communication) that the Characters of the Revolutionary Patriots are among the surviving portions of extensive notes kept by BR for the purpose of writing a history of the Revolution. As time went on and no opportunity could be found for composing the work, BR grew doubtful not only of the value of historical writing (all the histories of the Revolution he read seemed to him distorted in their judgements), but even of the accomplishments of the Revolutionary movement itself. He therefore destroyed a substantial part of his manuscript materials sometime before 1805, perhaps in 1804 when the memory of his quarrel with Washington was revived by the publication, in Marshall's *Life of Washington*, of his letter to Patrick Henry.

[18] Since biographies of all the Signers of the Declaration of Independence are found in DAB, identifying footnotes will not be given here.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOSIAH BARTLETT. A practitioner of physic, of excellent character, and warmly attached to the liberties of his country.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE. An old sea captain, but liberal in his principles and manners; and a genuine friend to liberty and independance.

MATTHEW THORNTON. A practitioner of physic, of Irish extraction. He abounded in anecdotes, and was for the most part happy in the application of them. He was ignorant of the world, but was believed to be a sincere patriot and an honest man.

MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN HANCOCK. He was a man of plain understanding, and good education. He was fond of the ceremonies of public life, but wanted industry and punctuality in business. His conversation was desultory, and his manners much influenced by frequent attacks of the gout, which gave a hypochondriacal peevishness to his temper. With all these infirmities he was a disinterested patriot, and made large sacrifices of an ample estate to the liberties and independance of his country.

SAMUEL ADAMS. He was near sixty years of age when he took his seat in Congress, but possessed all the vigor of mind of a young man of five and twenty. He was a republican in principle and manners. He once acknowledged to me "that the independance of the United States upon Great Britain had been the first wish of his heart seven years before the war." About the same time he said to me "if it were revealed to him that 999 Americans out of 1000 would perish in a war for liberty, he would vote for that war, rather than see his country enslaved. The survivors in such a war, though few (he said), would propagate a nation of freemen." He abhorred a standing army, and used to say that they were the "shoeblacks of Society." He dreaded the undue influence of an individual in a Republic, and once said to me "Let us beware of continental and State great men." He loved simplicity and oeconomy in the administration of government, and despised the appeals which are made to the eyes and ears of the common people in order to govern them. He considered national happiness and the public patronage of religion as inseperably connected; and so great was his regard for public worship, as the means of promoting religion, that he constantly attended divine service in the German church in York town while the Congress sat there, when there was no service in their chappel, although he was ignorant of the German language. His morals were irreproachable, and even ambition and avarice, the usual vices of politicians, seemed to have no place in his breast. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was active in preparing and doing business out of doors. In some parts of his conduct I have thought he discovered more of the prejudices of a Massachusetts man than the liberal sentiments of a citizen of the United States. His abilities were considerable, and his knowledge extensive and correct upon Revolutionary subjects, and both friends and enemies agree in viewing him as one of the most active instruments of the American Revolution.

John Adams. He was a distant relation of Saml. Adams, but possessed another species of character. He had been educated a lawyer, and stood high in his profession in his native state. He was a most sensible and forcible speaker. Every member of Congress in 1776 acknowledged him to be the first man in the House. Dr. Brownson (of Georgia)[19] used to say when he spoke, he fancied an angel was let down from heaven to illumine the Congress. He saw the whole of a subject at a single glance, and by a happy union of the powers of reasoning and persuasion often succeeded in carrying measures which were at first sight of an unpopular nature. His replies to reflections upon himself, or upon the New England States, were replete with the most poignant humor or satyre. I sat next to him while Genl. Sullivan[20] was delivering a request to Congress from Lord Howe for an interview with a committee of the House in their private capacities, after the defeat of the American Army on Long Island on the 26th of August 1776. Mr. Adams, under a sudden impression of the design, and dread of the consequences of the measure, whispered to me a wish "that the first ball that had been fired on the day of the defeat of our army, had gone through his head." When he rose to speak against the proposed interview, he called Genl. Sullivan "a decoy duck, whom Lord Howe has sent among us to seduce us into a renunciation of our independance." In a debate in which Mr. C—[21]

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[19] Nathan Brownson, ? -1796, surgeon in the Revolutionary army, was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776 and 1778; afterwards (1781) governor of Georgia (*Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia*, New York, 1897).

[20] John Sullivan, 1740-1795, major general in the Continental Army (See DAB for biography) was captured by the British in the battle of Long Island, and was paroled by Lord Howe for the purpose of carrying to Congress his request for a conference. See note 37, p. 121.

[21] Mr. C——, the gentleman from Maryland, was Samuel Chase, 1741-1811, who had been to Montreal in April-June 1776 (not 1775 as written by BR) with Ben-

insinuated the New England troops, as the principal cause of the failure of the expedition into Canada in 1775 [actually 1776], he said "the cause of the failure of that expedition was chiefly to be ascribed to the impudence of the gentleman from Maryland who has fomented jealousies and quarrels between the troops from the New England and Southern States in his visit to Canada, "and (said Mr. Adams) if he were now penetrated, as he ought to be, with a sense of his improper and wicked conduct, he would fall down upon his knees upon this floor, and ask our forgiveness. He would afterwards retire with shame, and spend the remainder of his life in sackcloth and ashes, deploring the mischief he has done his country." He was equally fearless of men, and of the consequences of a bold assertion of his opinion in all his speeches. Upon a motion in Congress Feb. 19, 1777[22] to surrender up to General Washington the power of appointing his general officers, he said in opposition to it "There are certain principles which follow us through life, and none more certainly than the love of the first place. We see it in the forms on which children sit at schools. It prevails equally to the latest period of life. I am sorry to find it prevail so little in this house. I have been distressed to see some of our members disposed to idolise an image which their own hands have molten. I speak here of the superstitious veneration which is paid to General Washington. I honour him for his good qualities, but in this House I feel myself his superior. In private life I shall always acknowledge him to be mine." He wrote much, as well as spoke often and copiously in favor of the liberties of his country. All his publications and particularly his letter to Mr. Withe,[23] containing a plan of a constitution for Virginia, discover a strong predilection for republican forms of government. To be safe, powerful and durable he always urged

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jamin Franklin and Charles Carroll of Carrollton as one of the committee sent by the Continental Congress to seek Canadian support against Britain. For BR's characterization of Chase, see p. 150. A committee to inquire into the failure of the negotiations in Canada was appointed June 24, 1776 and continued its investigations until October. There were debates in Congress in July and August. See *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, edited by E. C. Burnett, Washington, 1923, II, pp. 40, 41 and 46; also W. R. Riddell, "Benjamin Franklin's Mission to Canada and the Causes of its Failure," *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1924, XLVIII.

[22] BR recorded this debate at length in one of his notebooks; see "Historical Notes of Dr. Benjamin Rush," by S. Weir Mitchell, *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1903, XXVII.

[23] George Wythe, signer of the Declaration of Independence; see BR's characterization, p. 151. John Adams's letter to him, mentioned by BR, was printed in pamphlet form in Philadelphia and Boston, in 1776, under the title *Thoughts on Government . . . in a Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend*, and was reprinted in the *Works of John Adams*, Boston, 1851, IV.

that they should be composed of three legislative branches, but that each of them should be the offspring directly or indirectly of the suffrages of the people. So great was his disapprobation of a government composed of a single legislature, that he said to me upon reading the first Constitution of Pennsylvania "The people of your state will sooner or later fall upon their knees to the King of Great Britain to take them again under his protection, in order to deliver them from the tyranny of their own government." I could mention many conversations with him in which he appeared to be actuated by the highest tone of a republican temper, as well as principles. When Congress agreed to send commissioners to France to endeavour to make a treaty with her, I asked him at his lodgings what he thought of Mr.— as a commissioner. "I would not vote for him (said he) above any man. He idolises monarchy in his heart, and the first thing he would do when he arrived in France, would be to fall upon his knees and worship the King of France." The independance of the United States was first brought before the public mind in 1775 by a letter from him to one of his friends in Massachusetts that was intercepted and published in Boston, in which he expressed a wish for that measure.[24] It exposed him to the execrations of all the prudent and moderate people in America, insomuch that he was treated with neglect by many of his old friends. I saw this profound and enlightened patriot, who in the year 1798 was admired and celebrated in prose and verse by the first citizens in Philadelphia when President of the United States, walk our streets alone after the publication of his intercepted letter in our news papers in 1775, an object of nearly universal detestation. Events soon justified the wish contained in his letter, after which he rose in the public estimation so as to become, in the subsequent years of the Revolution, in some measure the oracle of the Whigs. He was a stranger to dissimulation, and appeared to be more jealous of his reputation for integrity, than for talents or knowledge. He was strictly moral, and at all times respectful to Religion. In speaking of the probable issue of the war he said to me in Baltimore in the winter of 1777, "We shall succeed in our struggle, provided we repent of our sins, and forsake them," and then added, "I will see it out, or go to heaven in its ruins." He possessed more learning probably, both ancient and modern, than any man who subscribed the Declaration of Independance. His reading was various. Even the old

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[24] The story of the intercepted letters is told in the diary of John Adams (*Works*, II, 411-414).

English poets were familiar to him. He once told me he had read all Bolingbroke's works with great attention. He admired nothing in them but the stile, and to acquire it, he said he had when a young man transcribed his "Idea of a Patriot King."[25] When he went to Holland to negociate a treaty with that country, he left a blank in Congress. I can say but little of his public conduct while he was in Europe, but that he was able, faithful and successful in all the business that was committed to him.

He returned to his native country with prejudices in favor of the British constitution. These prejudices he did not conceal when he became Vice President and President of the United States. But no change was produced in his manners and moral principles by the air of European courts. He was still familiar and unaffected in his deportment, and strictly upright in his conduct both in public and private life. The constant and laborious exercise of his intellectual faculties for 40 years, it was said, had produced some inequality in their operations after he became President of the United States. It is certain he was more irritable in his temper, and less cautious in speaking of men and things, than he had been in the early and middle stages of his life. It was his misfortune to administer the Government of his country at a time when it was alternately attracted and repelled by two of the most powerful nations of Europe, contending by a furious and extensive war for the supremacy of the globe. In the vibrations of parties, he retained a fixed point, by which means he offended both. Posterity, in doing justice to his early, long continued and eminent services to his country, cannot be impartial without admitting, in spite of his admiration of the British constitution and the failings which a premature old age brought upon his temper, that he honestly and consciously adhered to the forms of our Republic, and that he was a real American in principle and conduct.[26]

I cannot conclude this account of Mr. Adams without expressing my obligations to him for the friendship with which he honoured me during the whole of his public life from 1774 to 1800. I possess a large collection of his letters written to me in Europe and America which I prize as records of his genius and patriotism.[27] There was no diminution of our intimacy after he became President of the United States, nor did his high stations preclude controversy between us upon subjects upon which we differed, especially while he was President. Many delightful evenings have I passed at his house, in listening to the details of his public situations at home and abroad, and to anecdotes of public men. The pleasure of these evenings was much enhanced by the society of Mrs. Adams,[28] who in point of talent, knowledge, virtue, and female accomplishments was in every respect fitted to be the friend and companion of her husband in all his different and successive stations, of private citizen, member of Congress, foreign minister, Vice President and President of the United States.

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[25] Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, 1678-1751, Tory statesman and author, was foreign minister and prime minister under Queen Anne. After her death he schemed to restore the Stuart dynasty and was prime minister to the Pretender in exile (DNB). "The Idea of a Patriot King," written in 1738 and first published in 1749, is Letter 8 of "Letters on the Study and Use of History" in his *Collected Works* (vol. II of Philadelphia edition of 1841, 372-429). Bolingbroke was generally regarded, in his day, as the greatest English stylist.

[26] In 1790, when John Adams was Vice President of the U.S., BR sent him a copy of this "character." Adams replied to BR April 18, 1790 "To the accusation against me, which you have recorded in your Note Book of the 17th March last, I plead not guilty. I deny all attachment to monarchy, and I deny that I have changed my principles since 1776" (*Works of John Adams*, Boston, 1854, IX, 566).

Robert Treat Paine. He was educated a clergyman, and afterwards became a lawyer. He had a certain obliquity of understanding which prevented his seeing public objects in the same light in which they were seen by other people. He seldom proposed anything, but opposed nearly every measure that was proposed by other people, and hence he got the name of "The Objection Maker" in Congress. His temper was amiable, and his speeches and conversation often facetious. He was moderate in his feelings for his country. This was so much the case, that he told me the first time I saw him in 1774 that his constituents considered him as one of their "cool devils." He was notwithstanding a firm, decided, and persevering patriot, and eminently useful in Congress, particularly upon committees, in which he was remarkable for his regular and punctual attendance.

Elbridge Gerry. He was a respectable young merchant, of a liberal education, and considerable knowledge. He was slow in his perceptions and in his manner of doing business, and stammering in his speech, but he knew and embraced truth when he saw it. He had no local or state prejudices. Every part of his conduct in 1775, 1776, and 1777 indicated him to be a sensible, upright man, and a genuine friend to republican forms of government.

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[27] The letters of John Adams to BR, extending from 1777 to 1813, did not accompany the rest of the Rush mss. bequeathed by James Rush to the Library Company of Philadelphia, but passed with some other of BR's papers into the possession of Alexander Biddle through his marriage to BR's granddaughter Julia. They were sold by auction in 1943, as part of Biddle's estate, and were widely scattered. Fortunately Biddle had issued them in a volume called *Old Family Letters, Copied from the Originals*, Philadelphia, 1892. BR's side of this voluminous correspondence remains in the possession of the Adams Manuscript Trust and will be printed in Mr. L. H. Butterfield's forthcoming collection of BR's letters.

[28] Abigail Smith Adams, 1744-1818 (DAB). BR was not alone in his high opinion of her talents and ability.

RHODE ISLAND

William Ellery. A lawyer somewhat cynical in his temper, but a faithful friend to the liberties of his country. He seldom spoke in Congress, but frequently amused himself in writing epigrams on the speakers which were generally witty and pertinent and sometimes poetical. Mr. Paine had once given in a report in favor of purchasing some guns for the United States, that were not bored. Some time after this, a motion was made to call upon the citizens of Philadelphia to furnish ready made cloathes for the army, for materials to make them could not then be obtained in any of the stores. Mr. Paine opposed this motion, by holding up to the imagination the ridiculous figure our soldiers would make when paraded, or marching in cloaths of different lengths and colors. While he was speaking Mr. Ellery struck off with his pencil the following lines.

"Say O! my muse—why all this puzzle:
Talk against long cloaths and give guns without muzzle."

Stephen Hopkins. A venerable old man of the Society of Friends, of an original understanding, extensive reading, and great integrity. He perfectly understood the principles of liberty and government, and was warmly attached to the independance of his country. I once heard him say in 1776 "the liberties of America would be a cheap purchase with the loss of but 100,000 lives." He disliked hearing long letters read him from the generals of our armies, and used to say "he never knew a General Quillman good for any thing." As the result of close observation he remarked to me in walking home from Congress, that he "had never known a modest man that was not brave."

CONNECTICUT

Roger Shearman [Sherman]. A plain man of slender education. He taught himself mathematicks, and afterwards acquired some property and a good deal of reputation by making almanacks. He was so regular in business, and so democratic in his principles that he was called by one of his friends "a republican machine." Patrick Henry asked him in 1774 why the people of Connecticut were more zealous in the cause of liberty than the people of other States; he answered "because we have more to lose than any of them." "What is that" said Mr. Henry. "Our beloved charter" replied Mr. Sherman. He was not less distinguished for his piety than his patriotism. He once objected to a motion for Congress sitting on a Sunday upon an occasion which he thought did not require it, and gave as a reason for his objection, a regard of the commands of his Maker. Upon hearing of the defeat of the American army on Long Island, where they were entrenched and fortified by a chain of hills, he said to me in coming out of Congress "Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains" (Jeremiah xii, 23).

Samuel Huntington. A sensible, candid and worthy man, and wholly free from State prejudices.

William Williams. A well meaning weak man, and often misled by State prejudices.

Oliver Wolcott. A worthy man of great modesty, and sincerely attached to the interests of his country.

NEW YORK

William Floyd. A mild and decided Republican. He seldom spoke in Congress, but always voted with the zealous friends to liberty and independance.

Philip Livingston. A blunt but honest man. He was supposed to be unfriendly to the Declaration of Independance, when it took place, but he concurred afterwards in all the measures that were adopted to support it. He was very useful in committees where a knowledge in figures or commercial subjects was required. A secret of Congress having transpired, he proposed that every member of Congress should declare upon oath that he had not divulged it, in order that "the rascal (to use his own words) might add the sin of perjury to that of treachery and thereby damn his soul for ever."

Francis Lewis. A moderate Whig, but a very honest man, and very useful in executive business.

Lewis Morris. A chearful amiable man and a most disinterested patriot. He had three sons at one time in the army. He suffered the loss of many thousand pounds by the depredations of the British army upon his property near New York without repining. Every attachment of his heart yielded to his love of his country.

NEW JERSEY

Richard Stockton.[29] An enlightened politician and a correct and graceful speaker. He was timid where bold measures were required, but was at all times sincerely devoted to the liberties of his country. He loved law and order, and once offended his constituents by opposing the seizure of private property in an illegal manner by an officer of the army. He said after the treaty with France took place, "that the United States were placed in a more eligible situation by it, than they had ever been during their connection with Great Britain." His habits as a lawyer and a judge (which office he had filled under the British government) produced in him a respect for the British constitution, but this did not lessen his attachment to the independance of the United States.

John Witherspoon.[30] A well informed statesman and remarkably luminous and correct in all his speeches. His influence was less than might have been expected from his abilities and knowledge, owing in part to his ecclesiastical character. He was a zealous Whig, but free from the illiberality which sometimes accompanies zeal. In a report brought into Congress by a member from Virginia, George the 3rd was called "the tyrant of Britain." Dr. Witherspoon objected to the word "tyrant" and moved to substitute "king" in its room. He gave as reasons for his objection "that the epithet was both false and undignified. It was false because George the 3rd was not a tyrant in Great Britain; on the contrary he was beloved and respected by his subjects in Britain, and perhaps the more for making war upon us. It was undignified because it did not become one sovereign power to abuse or use harsh epithets when it spoke of another." The motion was negatived, and the amendment proposed by Dr. Witherspoon was adopted.

Francis Hopkinson.[31] A facetious agreeable man. He took but a small part in the business of Congress but served his country very essentially by many of his publications during the war. In the midst of a long debate he once amused himself by drawing with a pencil a caricature of the manner in which the first Constitution of Pennsylvania was forced upon the people. A Brewer and Schoolmaster, who were the most active members of the convention that framed the

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[29] BR's father-in-law. For biographical data, see p. 50, note 29.

[30] For biographical data see p. 50, note 28.

[31] See another characterization of Francis Hopkinson on the occasion of his death, p. 192 below.

Constitution, with a dray, and a Schoolboy composed the figures of this picture. The Brewer offers the boy a mug of beer, the boy attempts to thrust it from him, while the Schoolmaster with a rod, compels him to drink it.

John Hart. A plain, honest, well meaning Jersey farmer, with but little education, but with good sense and virtue eno' to discover and pursue the true interests of his country.

Abraham Clark. A sensible but cynical man. He was uncommonly quick sighted in seeing the weakness and defects of public men and measures. He was attentive to business and excelled in drawing up reports and resolutions. He was said to study more to please the people than to promote their real and permanent interests. With this and perhaps other faults he was warmly attached to the liberties and independance of his country.

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert Morris.[32] A bold, sensible, and agreeable speaker. His perceptions were quick and his judgement sound upon all subjects. He was opposed to the *time* (not to the *act*) of the Declaration of Independance, but he yielded to no man in his exertions to support it, and a year after it took place he publickly acknowledged on the floor of Congress that he had been mistaken in his former opinion as to its time, and said that it would have been better for our country had it been declared sooner. He was candid and liberal in a debate so as always to be respected by his opponents, and sometimes to offend the members of the party with whom he generally voted. By his extensive commercial knowledge and connections he rendered great services to his country in the beginning, and by the able manner in which he discharged the duties of Financier he revived and established her credit in the close of the Revolution. In private life he was friendly, sincere, generous and charitable, but his peculiar manners deprived him of much of that popularity which usually follows great exploits of public and private virtue. He was proud and passionate, and hence he always had virulent enemies, as well as affectionate friends.

Benjamin Rush. He aimed well.

Benjamin Franklin. He seldom spoke in Congress but was useful in committees, in which he was punctual and indefatigable. He was a firm Republican, and treated kingly power at all times with ridicule and contempt. He early declared himself in favor of Independance.

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[32] See p. 137, note 14.

John Adams used to say he was more of a philosopher than a politician. It is certain he patronized the first constitution of Pennsylvania, in which there were contained nearly all the defects which could enter into a government, and to the influence of his name it owed its establishment.[33] I sat next to him in Congress, when he was elected by the unanimous vote of every State in the Union to an embassy to the Court of France in the year 1776. When the vote was declared, I congratulated him upon it. He thanked me, and said "I am like the remnant of a piece of unsalable cloath you may have, as the shopkeepers say, for what you please." He was then 70 years of age. His services to his country in effecting the treaty with France were highly appreciated at the time that event took place. He was treated with great respect by the French Court. A letter from Paris written while he was there contained the following expressions. "Dr. Franklin seldom goes to court. When he does he says but little, but what he says flies by the next post to every part of the Kingdom."

John Morton. A plain farmer, but from his former station as a judge was well acquainted with the principles of government and public business. His hatred to the new constitution of Pennsylvania and his anticipation of its evils were such as to bring on a political hypocondriasis, which it was said put an end to his life a year or two after the Declaration of Independance.

George Clymer. A cool, firm, consistent Republican who loved liberty and government with an equal affection. Under the appearance of manners that were cold and indolent, he concealed a mind that was always warm and active towards the interests of his country. He was well informed in history ancient and modern, and frequently displayed flashes of wit and humor in conversation. His style in writing was simple, correct, and sometimes eloquent. "The mould in which this man's mind was cast (to use the words of Lord Peterborough when speaking of Wm. Law)[34] was seldom used."

James Smith. A pleasant facetious lawyer. His speeches in Congress were in general declamatory, but from their humor, frequently entertaining. He was an early Whig, but wanted steadiness, it was said, in his political conduct.

George Taylor. A respectable country gentleman, but not much distinguished in any way in Congress.

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[33] See p. 130, note 61.

[34] Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough (1658-1735).

William Law, 1686-1761, theologian, author of *A Serious Call to the Devout and Holy Life*, 1728.

James Wilson.[35] An eminent lawyer and a great and enlightened statesman. He had been educated for a clergyman in Scotland, and was a profound and accurate scholar. He spoke often in Congress, and his eloquence was of the most commanding kind. He reasoned, declaimed, and persuaded according to circumstances with equal effect. His mind, while he spoke, was one blaze of light. Not a word ever fell from his lips out of time, or out of place, nor could a word be taken from or added to his speeches without injuring them. He rendered great and essential services to his country in every stage of the Revolution.

George Ross. A man of great wit, good humor and considerable eloquence. His manner in speaking was agreeable, and commanded attention. He disliked business, and hence he possessed but little influence in Congress.

DELAWARE

Caesar Rodney. A plain man of good judgement, and agreeable conversation, and sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country.

George Read. A shrewd lawyer, of gentle manners, and of considerable talents and knowledge. He was firm, without violence, in all his purposes, and was much respected by all his acquaintances.[36]

MARYLAND

Samuel Chase. This man's life and character were a good deal checkered. He rendered great services to his country by awakening and directing the public spirit of his native State in the first years of the Revolution. He possessed more learning than knowledge, and more of both than judgement. His person and attitude in speaking were graceful, and his elocution commanding, but his speeches were more oratorial than logical. He always voted with the friends to Independance. In the year 1778 he made his public station subservient to his private views, and exhibited marks of a mind tainted with that spirit of speculation which at that time pervaded nearly all ranks of citizens in the United States.[37]

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[35] For biographical data see p. 110, note 5.

[36] BR omits Thomas McKean of Delaware, who signed the Declaration of Independence much later than the others (DAB).

[37] After the word "Independance" BR originally wrote "and was considered in 1776 and 1777 as a Republican. Shortly after I left Congress, he exposed himself to the public clamor by availing himself of a secret of Congress and entering into false speculations with a friend in Mary—." He then struck a line through this incompleted passage and substituted the closing sentence as printed here. This scandal is mentioned in the DAB article on Samuel Chase.

William Paca. A good tempered worthy man, with a sound understanding which he was too indolent to exercise, and hence his reputation in public life was less than his talents. He was beloved and respected by all who knew him, and considered at all times as a sincere patriot and honest man.

Thomas Stone. An able lawyer, and a friend to universal liberty. He spoke well, but was sometimes mistaken upon plain subjects. I once heard him say "he had never known a single instance of a negro being contented in slavery."

Charles Carroll. An inflexible patriot, and an honest independant friend to his country. He had been educated at St. Omer's,[38] and possessed considerable learning. He seldom spoke, but his speeches were sensible and correct, and delivered in an oratorial manner.

VIRGINIA

George Wythe. A profound lawyer and able politician. He seldom spoke in Congress, but when he did his speeches were sensible, correct, and pertinent. I have seldom known a man possess more modesty, or a more dove-like simplicity and gentleness of manner. He lived many years after he left Congress, the pride and ornament of his native State.

Richard Henry Lee. A frequent, correct and pleasing speaker. He was very useful upon committees and active in expediting business. He made the motion for the Declaration of Independance and was ever afterwards one of its most zealous supporters.

Thomas Jefferson. He possessed a genius of the first order. It was universal in its objects. He was not less distinguished for his political, than his mathematical and philosophical knowledge. The objects of his benevolence were as extensive as those of his knowledge. He was not only the friend of his country, but of all nations and religions. While Congress were deliberating upon the measure of sending Commissioners to France I asked him what he thought of being one of them. He said "he would go to hell to serve his country." He was afterwards elected a Commissioner, but declined at that time on account of the sickness of his wife. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was a member of all the important committees. He was the penman of the Declaration of Independance. He once showed me the original in his own hand writing. It contained a noble testimony against negro slavery which was struck out in its passage through Congress. He took notes of all the debates upon the Declaration of Independance, and the first Confederation. He was said, at the time alluded to, to be unfriendly to Christianity. It is possible this may be true. His notes contain some expressions which favour that opinion. In my conversation with him in Philadelphia while he was Vice President he denied the charge, and said he believed in the divine mission of the Saviour of the World, but he did not believe that he was the Son of God in the way in which many Christians believed it. He said he believed further in the divine institution of the Sabbath, which he conceived to be a great blessing to the world, more especially to poor people and slaves. He believed likewise in the resurrection, and a future state of rewards and punishments.

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[38] The College of the English Jesuits at St. Omer, France. Charles Carroll of Carrollton studied also at Rheims, Paris, Bourges and London.

BENJAMIN HARRISON. He was well acquainted with the forms of public business. He had strong State prejudices, and was very hostile to the leading characters from the New England States. In private life he preferred pleasure and convivial company to business of all kinds. His taste in this respect was discovered in a letter to General Washington which was intercepted and published in Boston.[39] He was upon the whole a useful member of Congress and sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country.

THOMAS NELSON. A respectable country gentleman, with excellent dispositions both in public and private life. He was educated in England. He informed me that he was the only person out of 9 or 10 Virginians that were sent with him to England for education that had taken a part in the American Revolution. The rest were all Tories.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE. He was brother to Richard Henry Lee but possessed, I thought, a more acute and correct mind. He often opposed his brother in a vote, but never spoke in Congress. I never knew him wrong eventually upon any question. Mr. Madison informed me that he had observed the same thing in many silent members of public bodies.

CARTER BRAXTON. He was not deficient in political information, but was suspected of being less detached than he should be from his British prejudices. He was a decent, agreeable and sensible speaker, and in private life an accomplished gentleman.

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[39] The serio-comic story of this letter is well told by Claude Bowers, in *The Young Jefferson, 1743-1789*, Boston, 1945, pp. 129-131. The intercepted letter was published in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, August 17, 1775.

NORTH CAROLINA

Joseph Hewes. A plain, worthy merchant, and well acquainted with business. He seldom spoke in Congress, but was very useful upon committees.

William Hooper. A sensible, sprightly young lawyer, and a rapid, but correct speaker.

John Penn. A good humored man, very talkative in company, but seldom spoke in Congress except it was to whisper to the member who sat next to him. He was honest, and warmly attached to the liberties of his country.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Edward Rutledge. A sensible young lawyer, of great volubility in speaking, and very useful in the business of Congress.

Thomas Heyward junior. A firm Republican of good education and most amiable manners. He possessed an elegant poetical genius, which he sometimes exercised with success upon the various events of the war.

Thomas Lynch junior. A man of moderate talents and timid in difficult circumstances of his country.

Arthur Middleton. A man of a cynical temper, but of upright intentions towards his country. He had been educated in England and was a critical Latin and Greek scholar. He read Horace and other classicks during his recess from Congress. He spoke frequently, and always with asperity or personalities. He disliked business, and when put upon the Committee of Accounts he refused to serve and gave as a reason for it that "he hated accounts, that he did not even keep his own accounts, and that he knew nothing about them."

GEORGIA

Button Guinett [Gwinnett]. A zealous Democrat. He carried a copy of the first constitution of Pennsylvania with him to Georgia, where he had address enough to get it adopted.[40] He fell afterwards in a duel in that State.

Lyman Hall. A native of Connecticut, and strongly impressed with the principles and habits of Republicanism which then prevailed in that State. He was a man of considerable learning, with an excellent judgement and very amiable manners.

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[40] This statement is over-simplified. Gwinnett was indeed the chief draftsman of the Georgia constitution of 1776, and that document did resemble the Pennsylvania constitution of the same year, but it was not an exact copy (Charles Francis Jenkins, *Button Gwinnett, Signer of the Declaration of Independence*, New York, 1926).

GEORGE WALTON. A sensible young man. He possessed knowledge and a pleasing manner of speaking. He was the youngest member of Congress, being not quite three and twenty when he signed the Declaration of Independance. He filled the offices of governor and chief justice for many years in Georgia, and evinced in his public conduct the same attachment to government and order, that he had done in 1776 to liberty and independance.

The act for renouncing allegiance to the King of Great Britain by the Declaration of Independance has ever been considered as a very bold one. It was done in the face of a powerful army, with but slender resources for war, and without any assurance of foreign aid. The first vote in favor of it was carried by the majority of a single State, a circumstance which places it upon a footing with several of the first political events that have occurred in the world. The States that ripened most rapidly into a willingness to adopt the measure, were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia and Georgia. New Jersey and Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Delaware, Maryland and New York followed in the order in which they have been named. I speak of the delegates of those States only, not of the people who composed them. Upon all great national questions the four eastern States, Virginia and Georgia concurred in their votes. Thirty four out of fifty four of the men who signed the Declaration of Independance died before the year 1800.

I shall now mention some of the leading traits of the characters of several other persons who were active in the first years of the American Revolution. What will be said of them shall be from personal knowledge and fellowship of labors with them.

JOHN DICKINSON. Few men wrote, spoke and acted more for their country from the years 1764 to the establishment of the federal government than Mr. Dickinson. He was alike eloquent at the bar, in a popular assembly, and in conversation. Count Wingiuski,[41] a Polish nobleman who travelled thro' the United States soon after the peace, said he was the most learned man he had met with in America. He possessed the air of a camp and the ease of the court in his manners. He was opposed to the Declaration of Independance at the time it took place, but concurred in supporting it. During the war and for some years after it, he admired and preferred the British constitution. Towards the close of his life he became a decided and zealous Republican.

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[41] Thomas Cajetan Wengierski, 1755-1787, a Polish poet, visited America under the influence of Crèvecoeur and of Dickinson's *Letters of an American Farmer*. He was in the eastern U.S. September to November 1783 (Miecislas Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolutionary War*, Chicago, 1932).

Charles Thompson. A man of great learning and general knowledge, at all times a genuine Republican, and in the evening of his life a sincere Christian. He was the intimate friend of John Dickinson. He was once told in my presence that he ought to write a history of the Revolution. "No," said he, "I ought not, for I should contradict all the histories of the great events of the Revolution, and shew by my account of men, motives and measures, that we are wholly indebted to the agency of providence for its successful issue. Let the world admire the supposed wisdom and valor of our great men. Perhaps they may adopt the qualities that have been ascribed to them, and thus good may be done. I shall not undeceive future generations."

Thomas Mifflin.[42] Those who knew this man in the close of the Revolution and in the evening of his life, will hardly believe what is strictly true, that he possessed genius, knowledge, eloquence, patriotism, courage, self-government and an independant spirit, in the first years of the war. He was extremely useful in the gloomy winter of 1776 by rallying the drooping courage of the militia of his native State, which he did by riding through all the populous countries, and exhorting them to turn out to check the progress of the British army. His influence was much promoted by an elegant person, an animated countenance, and popular manners. Had he fallen in battle, or died in the year 1778, he would have ranked with Warren and the first patriots of the Revolution.

General Charles Lee. His character was a medley of opposite and contradicting qualities. He loved and admired public virtue, but was addicted to many private vices. He was obscene, profane, and at times impious in his conversation. His avarice discovered itself in every transaction of his life. He studied singularity and eccentricity in his dress, appetite, accommodations, stile in writing, speaking, and swearing. Even his will partook of this weakness in his character. He had many successive intimates, whom he called friends, but he appeared to have no affection for any thing human. A troop of dogs which he permitted to follow him every where seemed to engross his whole heart. He despised prudence, and used to call it "a rascally virtue." With these vices and oddities, he was sincere, and no one ever detected him in a lye, or even in an equivocation. He likewise possessed courage, which he evinced in many battles and duels in different parts of the world. His genius was considerable, and his attainments great in classical learning and in modern languages. He was eloquent and at times witty and brilliant in conversation. He was useful in the beginning of the war by inspiring our citizens with military ideas and lessening in our soldiers their superstitious fear of the valor and discipline of the British army. When he heard of the sentence of the court martial which suspended him from his command, he said "Oh! that I were a dog, that I might not call man my brother."

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[42] For biographical sketch, see p. 109; for BR's allegations about Mifflin in his later years, see p. 190.

GENERAL HORATIO GATES. Though born in England and educated in the British army, he was a genuine Republican, and a sincere friend to the Independance of the United States. He was a correct officer and not deficient in military skill. His conquest of Burgoyne ruined his character by exciting envy. His defeat at Camden gave more pleasure than pain to thousands, inasmuch as it brought him back to a level with his colleagues in war. His secretary said to me after that defeat "that it was happy for him that he had been unfortunate, for had he been again successful, he would have been crucified." He possessed some learning, a great deal of reading, and talents for extensive and accurate observation. His conversation abounded in anecdotes, and was entertaining upon all subjects. He was accused of wishing to supplant Genl. Washington by aiming to place Genl. Mifflin at the head of the Army. From an intimate knowledge of him, I believe that this charge was without foundation. He had many pertinent common sayings which he applied to the affairs of the world. Two of them I recollect were "Parties like armies, receive all able bodied men" and "The world will do its own business."

GENERAL NATHL. GREEN [GREENE]. He was the pupil of General Lee, and afterwards the privy councillor of Genl. Washington. Genius supplied in him the place of a learned education. He was active and intelligent, but thought more than he felt, and hence he was said to be more qualified for the cabinet than the field. His temper was gentle, and his manners engaging. He was beloved and respected by all who knew him.

General Henry Knox. A brave and intelligent officer, and an open hearted, honest hearted, man.

Lord Sterling [Stirling].[43] A learned sensible man, but somewhat vain, and like Charles II apt to tire his company by a repetition of the same stories. He was prudent and wise in council, and brave in the field. His manners were gentle and agreeable. His misfortunes before the war had led him to seek relief in toddy, with which he sometimes impaired his judgement. Congress honoured him with a vote of approbation and praise after his death.

General McDougall.[44] Nature, and an application to books late in life, did wonders for this man. He possessed genius, knowledge and uncommon fervor of mind tempered by a solid judgement. General Lee used to say "he was the only cool headed enthusiast he had ever known in his life." He loved liberty above all things, but he was an enemy to mob governments. His person was dignified and his conversation sensible and methodical, but somewhat formal, produced by a slight stammering in his speech. He performed but few services to his country in the field, but was extremely useful to her in the cabinet. His talents were less active, than contemplative and judicial.

Commodore Jno. Paul Jones. He united in his military character the *boldness* which is produced by madness, the *bravery* which is the effect of animal spirits, and the *courage* which is the result of reflection. He once put into my hands a history of his naval exploits. He exulted in it in having first hoisted the American flag on board the first armed vessel that was commissioned by the United States. I heard him give a minute account of his engagement with the Seraphis [Serapis] in a small circle of gentlemen at a dinner. It was delivered with great apparent modesty and commanded the most respectful attention. Towards the close of the battle, while his deck was swimming in blood, the captain of the Seraphis called him to strike. "No, Sir," said he, "I will not, we have had but a small fight as yet." He had been well educated in Scotland (his native country) and discovered stile and taste both in writing and conversation. His countenance was strongly marked with thought. I know nothing of his private character.

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[43] William Alexander, 1726-1783, generally called by the title of Lord Stirling which he claimed, was a man of education and a brave and patriotic soldier. He was a major general in the Continental army (DAB).

[44] Alexander McDougall, 1732-1786, major general in the Continental army, was active in popular movements preliminary to the Revolution. Washington entrusted the command of the Hudson River highlands to him. He was in Congress 1781 and 1784, in the senate of New York 1783-1786 (DAB).

General Arnold.[45] I lodged three weeks in the same family with this man in Philadelphia in the spring of 1777. His person was low but well made, and his face handsome. His conversation was uninteresting and sometimes indelicate. His language was ungrammatical and his pronounciation vulgar. I once heard him say "his courage was acquired, and that he was a coward till he was 15 years of age." His character in his native State, Connecticut, was never respectable, and hence its vote alone was withheld from him when he was created a general by the Congress of the United States. His public vices are recorded in the printed histories of the American Revolution.

VIII. *Public Pursuits*

Soon after the British army left Philadelphia an attempt was made by a number of citizens to alter and amend the constitution of Pennsylvania, which had been formed in haste. Those citizens united themselves into what they called a Republican Society.[1] I became a member of it. They were soon afterwards opposed by a numerous class of citizens who stiled themselves Constitutionalists, and who were attached to the constitution of the State. Their contest about the constitution soon ended, for it was supported by being exclusively in the hands of its friends, who did not see its defects, or who were too much interested to acknowledge it required any amendment, especially at the time in which it was proposed. The government of the State, as was natural where all legislative power is lodged in a single body of men, was administered in an arbitrary manner. Test [laws][2] and other laws of an unconstitutional nature were passed, and even outrages upon the persons and property of peaceable citizens, contrary to law, were committed with impunity. These oppressions produced a contest for the power of the State which ended in a few years in the success of the party who had called themselves Republicans. By my activity in this struggle, I made many enemies, and became the subject of much newspaper abuse. My labors were not lost. The light which was thrown upon the subject of government by the controversy in which I bore a part, finally produced the present form of the constitution of Pennsylvania.[3]

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[45] Benedict Arnold, 1741-1801, general and traitor.

[1] For the background of the dispute over the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, see p. 130, note 61.

[2] An act of Assembly, June 1777, provided that all white male inhabitants must take an oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania as an independent state, renouncing fidelity to the King of England, and promising to inform officers of the peace about all traitorous conspiracies against the United colonies. Non-jurors were to a large extent deprived of civil rights, including the vote, the privilege of holding office and the rights to sue for office and to transfer real estate. A law of April, 1778 forbade non-jurors to engage in trades and professions.

BR published in 1784 a pamphlet against these laws, *Considerations upon the present Test-Law of Pennsylvania: Addressed to the Legislature and Freemen of the State*, Philadelphia, 1784. He took much credit for their repeal in 1786-87.

During the administration of the government of the State by a single legislature, the charter of the College of Philadelphia was taken away, and the property of the College vested in a new body of trustees.[4] It was now called the University of Pennsylvania. This act was perpetrated chiefly by the Presbyterians. I heard with pain that sect, with whom I was then connected, blamed for this unjust transaction, and proposed to some of my Presbyterian friends to surrender up the institution to its original proprietors, and to found a College of their own at Carlisle.[5] This proposition gave great offence to the Provost of the University and to some other members of the Presbyterian Society, and exposed me to fresh public and private abuse. The College was notwithstanding established at Carlisle, and the College of Philadelphia was finally thro' the industry and perseverance of its former Provost restored to its just owners. Its funds were afterwards united by common consent in a new Charter with the funds of the university, and the two Seminaries became one, and was called by law the University of Pennsylvania.

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[3] The conservatives (Republicans) began to regain power after 1780 and regained full control of the State government in 1790. See p. 178 for a statement by BR of the part he played in initiating the constitution of 1790.

[4] R. L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1942, gives a clear account of the trouble over the College of Philadelphia. In brief, the trustees at the beginning of the Revolution were mostly conservative supporters of the proprietary interests, the Penns having fostered the College. They were slow to take the oath of allegiance; several of them were professed Tories and a few actually went over to the enemy. Provost William Smith was unfavorable to the Revolution. The College moreover was dominated by the Episcopalians whereas the radical democratic State government was strongly tinged with Presbyterianism. The attack on the college was based on charges of disloyalty and sectarian favoritism. The reorganization took place in November 1779, James Ewing being installed as provost and David Rittenhouse as vice-provost. In 1789, when the conservatives were regaining power, the charter was restored to the College.

[5] BR understates his own part in the foundation of Dickinson College, in which he was quite definitely the leader. He devoted himself to the College without stint from 1782, when he drafted the plan, until the end of his life. The College was named after John Dickinson, whose election to the presidency of the Council of Pennsylvania in November 1782 was one of the first steps in the return of the conservatives to power. N. G. Goodman details the story of the founding of the College in Chapter XV of *Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1934. See also James Henry Morgan, *Dickinson College: The History of One Hundred and Fifty Years, 1783-1933*, Carlisle, Pa. 1933.

From this period till the year 1786 I passed my time chiefly in my professional studies and labors.

The situation of the United States during this time was far from being an agreeable one. The weakness of the confederation, and the injustice of most of the States, in enforcing the circulation of paper money by tender laws, had limited the commerce of our country, and produced universal distress in our cities. In the year 1788 there were 1000 empty houses in Philadelphia. Bricklayers and house carpenters and all the mechanics and labourers who are dependent upon them were unemployed. The value of property in and near the city was two-thirds less than before the year 1774. Bankruptcies were numerous and beggars were to be seen at the doors of the opulent in every street of our city. Taxes were heavy and subscriptions for the relief of the poor still more oppressive. In this melancholy state of our country it occurred to thinking men that all our evils originated in a weakness of the general government. These evils were pointed out in many publications in all the States, and a convention was finally called to correct the defect of the confederation. While we were sitting in the year 1787 I received a letter from Mr. Dickinson, who was a member of the convention, calling me to come forward in support of the proposed Constitution of the United States. I had heard enough of its form and principles to be satisfied with it, and readily obeyed the call of my friend by recommending and defending it in a number of addresses to the citizens of the United States. The zeal I had discovered in my publications and speeches at town meetings induced the citizens of Philadelphia to elect me a member of the convention that met in Pennsylvania to adopt or reject the proposed federal constitution. It was adopted by a vote of two thirds of the convention, but its execution was opposed by the minority who dissented from its adoption. I continued to write in its favor until it was adopted by all the States.[6] In this labor I was assisted and exceeded by Mr. Dickinson under the signature of Fabius, and by Tench Coxe[7] under a variety of signatures. Their performances did equal honor to themselves and the State of Pennsylvania. The opponents of the establishment of the constitution were the same men who had established and adhered to the first constitution of Pennsylvania, and of course hostile to the men who wrote in defence of it. I had resolved and repeatedly declared that I would close my political labors with the establishment of a safe and efficient general government. I considered this as an act of consistency, for to assist in making a people free, without furnishing them the means of preserving their freedom, would have been doing them more harm than good, and would have justly exposed me to their reproaches. I now realized my long contemplated purpose, and in the year 1789 took leave of political life, I hope, for ever.

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[6] The Federal Convention sat from May 14 to September 17, 1787. The Pennsylvania ratifying convention, of which BR was a member, met November 21 and adjourned December 15, 1787. The Constitution went into operation in 1789 and in less than two years thereafter the last of the then existing states had adopted it. BR's articles on the Constitution were not collected and there is no list of them. The best-known, written before the conventions sat, was "An Address to the People of the United States," *American Museum*, 1787, I, 8-11.

I review the time I spent in the service of my country with pleasure and pain. I derive pleasure from the recollection of the integrity of all my public pursuits. I sought no honors, and repeatedly refused the offer of profitable offices between the years 1774 and 1789. I befriended the persecuted and distressed enemies of the Revolution, and rescued many of them from ruin and banishment by my influence with the governing powers. I obtained offices and favors for many hundred persons from the new governments of our country. But this constituted but a part of the pleasure I enjoyed in my political pursuits. I was animated constantly by a belief that I was acting for the benefit of the whole world, and of future ages, by assisting in the formation of new means of political order and general happiness. Whether my belief as far as it relates to the last great object will be realized, or not, is yet a secret in the womb of time. Late events have at times induced me to believe my hopes were visionary and my labors lost, and with them the more valuable labors of all the patriots and the blood of all the heroes of the Revolution. At other times I have consoled myself by recollecting that the seeds of all the great changes for the better in the condition of mankind, have been sowed years and centuries before they came to pass. I still believe the American Revolution to be big with important consequences to the world, and that the labor of no individual, however feeble his contributions to it were, could have been spared. It was often said by the philanthropic Dr. Jebb[8] "that no good effort was lost." Still less can it be true, that the American Revolution will be an abortive event in the divine government of the world.

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[7] Tench Coxe, 1755-1824, of Philadelphia, studied law and entered his father's counting house. A neutral early in the war, he remained in Philadelphia during the British occupation. After Lord Howe's withdrawal he was arrested but was paroled and was elected to Congress in 1788. He held various fiscal offices under the U.S. government, and was an important contributor, through his writings, to the political economy of the post-Revolutionary period (DAB; See also Harold Hutchinson, *Tench Coxe, A Study in Economic Development*, Baltimore, 1938).

I feel pain in a review of my political life, when I recollect the unfriendly influence which party spirit (the unavoidable concomitant of politicks) had upon my moral and social feelings, and the controversies and enmities to which it exposed me. In estimating the services of public men, let public gratitude swell to its highest pitch. When the diminution or loss of benevolent feelings, and the pain of public slander and private disputes are mentioned, property, and even life itself are light as a feather when weighed in the opposite scale to them.

To my sons I bequeath a father's experience, and I entreat them to take no public or active part in the disputes of their country beyond a vote at an election.[9] If no scruples of conscience forbid them to bear arms, I would recommend to them rather to be soldiers than politicians, should they ever be so unfortunate as to live in a country distracted by a civil war. In battle men kill, without hating each other; in political contests men hate without killing, but in that hatred they commit murder every hour of their lives.

IX. *Religious Principles; Domestic Events*[10]

HAVING briefly stated the literary, medical and political events of my life, it remains only that I say a few words upon my religious principles.

I was baptised by the Revd. Eneas Ross,[11] an Episcopal minister, and heard divine worship for the first time in Christ Church in Philadelphia. After the death of my father I went with my mother to the Revd. Mr. Tennent's meeting,[12] which was held in the building afterwards converted into a College and University in 4th Street. My mother was a constant attendant upon his Presbyterian place of worship, and educated all her children in the principles taught by him, which were highly calvinistical.

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[8] BR is probably referring to John Jebb, M.D., 1736-1786, theologian, political writer and physician. He was active in prison reform (DNB).

[9] The whole of this paragraph was marked for deletion by BR. His son Richard Rush, 1780-1859, disregarded the advice here given, to his father's intense grief (see p. 297 below) but to the advantage of the nation, in view of his distinguished career as statesman and diplomat (see Appendix 3).

[10] This last section of the *Travels Through Life* forms the contents of the ninth notebook of the series, which became separated from the eight others and is now among the Rush mss. in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Branch), by whose courtesy it is printed here.

For a thoughtful discussion of the philosophical background of BR's religious views, see I. Woodbridge Riley, "Benjamin Rush as Materialist and Realist," *Bulletin of Johns Hopkins Hospital*, xviii, 1907, 89.

[11] Aeneas Ross, died ca. 1782, was a brother of George Ross, signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was assistant to the rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia and afterward missionary at Bristol, Oxford, and Whitemarsh, Pa., holding the latter

At Dr. Finley's School, I was more fully instructed in these principles by means of the Westminster Catechism. I retained them but without any affection for them 'till about the year 1780. I then read for the first time Fletcher's controversy with the Calvinists in favor of the Universality of the atonement.[13] This prepared my mind to admit the doctrine of Universal salvation, which was then preached in our city by the Revd. Mr. Winchester.[14] It embraced and reconciled my ancient calvinistical, and my newly adopted Armenian [Arminian] principles. From that time I have never doubted upon the subject of the salvation of all men. My conviction of the truth of this doctrine

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assignment about 1742-1756. He was father-in-law of Betsy Ross, maker of the first U.S. flag, who eloped with his son John (S. F. Hotchkin, *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware*, Philadelphia, 1890; *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1939, LXIII, p. 430), "Roster of the Anglican Clergy of Pennsylvania, immediately preceding and during the Revolution," Edgar Legare Pennington.

[12] Gilbert Tennent, 1703-1764, Presbyterian clergyman, was the son of William Tennent, founder of the famous Log College at Neshaminy, Pa., which he conducted from 1736 to 1746. Gilbert Tennent was educated by his father and was minister at Newcastle, Del. and New Brunswick, N.J. He came under the influence of George Whitefield during the latter's American tour of 1739-1740 and became a leader of the evangelistic wing of the Presbyterians. His group withdrew from affiliation with the Synod for 17 years. In 1743 he organized in Philadelphia the congregation to which BR refers here. Tennent was one of the first trustees of the College of New Jersey (DAB).

BR's first published work, if the attribution to him by Goodman is correct, was *A Funeral Eulogy . . . of the Late Reverend Gilbert Tennent . . .* appended to Samuel Finley's *Successful Minister of Christ Distinguished in Glory*, Philadelphia, 1764 (the official eulogy).

[13] John William Fletcher or de La Flechere, 1729-1785, Swiss-born minister of the Anglican Church, was one of the founders of Methodism. He was a vigorous polemical writer (DNB). He wrote several works on the question of salvation and predestination.

[14] Elhanan Winchester, 1751-1797, born at Brookline, Mass., was ordained a minister of the Baptist Church but became for a time a strict Calvinist. After preaching in North Carolina 1774-1780, he removed to Philadelphia. Becoming convinced of the doctrine of universal salvation, he was forced out of his Baptist church and thereafter held services in the hall of the University of Pennsylvania. From 1787 to 1794 he resided in London, preaching and writing religious works. Joseph Priestley and John Wesley were among his friends. Winchester shares with the Rev. John Murray the title of founder of the Universalist Church in America (DAB).

Mr. L. H. Butterfield states (personal communication) that BR's letters show that he held Presbyterian views until 1787, even though, as he says here, he read Fletcher about 1780. His active interest in Universalism was approximately coincidental with his break with Presbyterianism in 1787 on political grounds.

was derived from reading the works of Stonehouse,[15] Seigvolk, White, Chauncey, and Winchester, and afterwards from an attentive perusal of the Scriptures. I always admitted with each of those authors future punishment, and of long, long duration.

The early part of my life was spent in dissipation, folly, and in the practice of some of the vices to which young men are prone. The weight of that folly and those vices has been felt in my mind ever since. They have often been deplored in tears and sighs before God. It was from deep and affecting sense of one of them that I was first led to seek the favor of God in his Son in the 21st year of my age. It was thus the woman of Samaria was brought to a repentance of all her sins by the Son of God reminding her of but one of them, viz. her living criminally with a man who was not her husband.[16]

The religious impressions that were made upon my mind at this time were far from issuing in a complete union to God by his Son Jesus Christ, but they left my mind more tender to sin of every kind, and begat in me constant desires for a new heart, and a sense of God's mercy in the way of his Gospel. Religious company now became most agreeable to me and I delighted in public worship, and particularly in hearing evangelical ministers of all denominations. I made conscience of secret prayer from that time, nor do I recollect to have passed a day without it while in health to the present year 1800. But I am sorry to add my devotion was often a mere form, and carelessly and irreverently performed. I lost a great deal of spiritual sensibility

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BR was perhaps the first really prominent layman who sympathized with the Universalist movement. The subject remained on his mind for years and recurs several times in the Commonplace Books (see Index). Although he never formally joined the Universalist Church, which in his time was slowly crystallizing into a separate denomination, he participated in its convention held in Philadelphia in 1790. As he tells us (see below, p. 185) he corrected and arranged, by request, the articles of religion and plan of worship drawn up by the convention (Richard Eddy, *Universalism in America*, Boston, 1886).

[15] Sir James Stonehouse, 1716-1795, an Oxford graduate, was at first a physician at Northampton, England. He was converted by Doddridge and became an Anglican clergyman (DNB). His work on salvation was published anonymously in 1761 under the title *Universal Restitution.*

"Paul Siegvolk" was the assumed name of George Klein Nicolai, a German religious writer of the 17th century, whose book *The Everlasting Gospel*, long popular in Germany, was printed in English translation at Germantown, Pa., in 1753 (Richard Eddy, *Universalism in America*, Boston, 1886).

Jeremiah White, 1629-1707, domestic chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, wrote a treatise on universal salvation, *The Restitution of All Things*, London, 1712 (DNB).

Charles Chauncey, 1705-1787, a Harvard graduate of 1721, was very influential in the pulpit of the First Congregational Church of Boston. He published a tract and two volumes on universal salvation, 1782 to 1784 (DAB).

[16] John IV, 7-29.

while I was abroad. Travelling is unfavourable to the growth and even to the existence of Religion in the soul. Thousands I believe have lost their all by it.

The scenes of my political life were likewise unfavourable to the divine life in my soul. Often, very often, have I deplored them.

About the year 1786 I thought I felt some comfortable views of the love of God. My soul was drawn out to him in constant aspirations. I now felt a strong desire to partake of the Lord's Supper. In consequence of my having renounced the Calvinistical opinions of the Presbyterians, I did not expect to be admitted to commune with them. I therefore submitted to confirmation with my dear wife in the month of February 1788, and a few days afterwards received the blessed Signs of the death of Jesus Christ in St. Peter's Church. I was deeply impressed with this solemnity. In consequence of rising a night or two before, and going out too thinly clad, I was attacked upon my return from church by a severe pleurisy which had nearly put an end to my life. I realized death. My faith, it is true, was weak; but my hopes in the mercy of God as a Redeemer were strong. It pleased God to restore me, and for some time afterwards to continue upon my mind a considerable sense of divine things. In consequence of an alteration made in the forms of Baptism and the communion service, the former admitting infant regeneration, and the latter favouring transubstantiation,[17] I declined after a year or two communing in the church, and had my children baptized by Presbyterian ministers. I still attended public worship in the Episcopal church and occasionally in the Presbyterian churches, but alas! with coldness and formality. I was under the influence of an unholy temper, and often wounded the peace of my mind by yielding to it. During the fever of 1793 my mind was strongly impressed with a sense of divine things. I was animated by a hope in God's mercy. The psalms were made comfortable to me. I read them every day. I lament that the good impressions I then felt soon wore away. To this, the impatience I felt under the opposition and hostility of medical brethren chiefly contributed. The Gospel of Jesus Christ prescribes the wisest rules for just conduct in every situation of life. Happy they who are enabled to obey them in all situations!

Of the poor services I have rendered to any of my fellow creatures I shall say nothing. They were full of imperfections and have no merit in the sight of God. I pray to have the sin that was mixed with them, forgiven. My only hope of salvation is in the infinite transcendent love of God manifested to the world by the death of his Son upon the Cross. Nothing but his blood will wash away my sins. I rely exclusively upon it. Come Lord Jesus! Come quickly! And take home thy lost, but redeemed Creature! I will believe, and I will hope in thy salvation! Amen, and amen!

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[17] BR is doubtless referring to the revised Prayer Book adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in 1789.

Domestic Events

I HAVE taken notice of my marriage to Julia Stockton, daughter of Richd. Stockton, Esq., of New Jersey on the 11th of January 1775. She was then between 16 and 17 years of age. I was between 30 and 31. The issue by our marriage is recorded in two family Bibles.

Let me here bear testimony to the worth of this excellent woman. She fulfilled every duty as a wife, mother and mistress with fidelity and integrity. To me she was always a sincere and honest friend. Had I yielded to her advice upon many occasions, I should have had known less distress from various causes in my journey thro' life. I have endeavoured to reward and honour her in my will. May God reward and bless her with an easy and peaceful old age if she should survive me and after death confer upon her immediate and eternal happiness!

On the 2nd of July 1795 my dear mother died in the 78th year of her age. She had lived with me several years before her death, and was very useful in my family. Her company was at all times delightful, for she retained the vigor of her faculties to the last day of her life. Even her memory was not impaired. Two days after her death, I vented my feelings in a letter to my good friend Mrs. Ferguson[18] of which the following is a copy. It was dated July 4th 1795. After mentioning her death, I proceeded by informing her that her last words were "Sweet Jesus!" She retained her speech and her senses till within a few minutes before her death. Two days before she died, she told me "She had passed a sleepless and painful night, but that she had enjoyed sweet communion with God." A few hours before she died she asked for me. I was then from home. When I came in she said "let him come up. But I want to see nothing but my God." I saw her draw her last breath, and oh! my dear madam, never did my heart swell with so many and such various emotions. Yesterday I went into her room and took my last view of her beloved corpse. She was comely even in death. I fixed my eyes upon the seat of her heart and said, how much anguish has that heart known in the course of near 80 years! I thought of all the misery it had felt in an unfortunate early marriage, which happily for her terminated in three or four years by the extravagance and intemperance of her young husband. I thought of the anguish it had felt in being parted from my father, who was the husband of her warmest affections, and who left her with but a small fortune, and six young children.[19] I thought of all the anguish it had felt during the 16 years she had been connected with her last husband, who was rough, unkind and often abusive in his treatment of her. I thought above all of the solicitude she had a thousand times felt for each of her children while living, and of the grief she had felt for those she had lost by death. Her affection for the remnants of her children seemed to be as intense on her death bed as ever. Upon coming into her room a few weeks before she died, she took me by the hand, and squeezed it, and said "I love to see you, my son. The very sound of your feet as you come up stairs is delightful to me." She once complained that she was very troublesome, and wished to be gone, that she might relieve us from the toils of nursing and attending her. Here I had an opportunity of doing justice to my feelings. "No (said I), my dear madam, should you continue to lie on this bed till you are an hundred years old, you will never tire my family. I shall chearfully and thankfully nurse you here if it were only for the pleasure of your conversation." Her affection for my dear Mrs. Rush and her gratitude for her great [kindness] and attention to her were frequently and warmly expressed. Upon a proposal being made if she recovered to live with my sister she said "Don't speak of it. I will never leave Mrs. Rush."

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[18] For biographical data on Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, see p. 116, note 27, and p. 320, note 50.

She was carried to her grave by Tench Coxe, Saml. Coates, Leeson Symonds, Wm. Hall, John Dunlap, Robert Wharton, John Patten, Deputy Postmaster, and John Mease.[20]

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[19] She had seven living children when her husband John Rush died. By "six" BR no doubt means John Rush's offspring, namely James, Rachel, Rebecca, Benjamin, Jacob, and John. The last-named died soon after his father, but there was also the daughter by the first husband, Joseph Harvey. She must have been about 16 years old when her step-father died. Another son of John Rush, Stephenson Rush, died in infancy before his father's death (genealogical table in Biddle). Susanna Hall (Harvey) (Rush) Morris therefore bore in all eight children.

[20] Samuel Coates, 1748-1830, a Quaker merchant of Philadelphia, was highly respected for his integrity and philanthropy. He devoted himself to the Pennsylvania Hospital, being one of the managers from 1785 to 1825 and president in 1812, and was the only manager who remained at his post in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 (DAB; Morton).

Leeson Simmons, sea captain, 91 High Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1794).

The corpse was preceded by Dr. White, Dr. Blackwell, Dr. Magaw, and Mr. Abercrombie. Mr. Jno. B. Smith[21] (who visited her in her last illness) was invited, but did not attend.

Mourners, my wife and self, sister Montgomery and my son John, my daughters Emily and Mary in black, her grand son Seth and grand daughter Mary Willis, Mrs. Fullarton and husband and Mrs. McConnell's son and sundry of my father's relations.[22]

She was buried by the side of my father in Christ Church grave yard agreeably to her request. "He was an angel (said she) to me in life. Let me lie by him in death." The sight of the grave and head-

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William Hall, son of David Hall, Franklin's partner from 1748 to 1766, continued the printing business and became "an opulent, respectable, and popular man." A Federalist, he was in the Pennsylvania legislature for several terms. He was still living, in reduced circumstances, in 1815 ("Additions to Thomas's History of Printing," by William McCulloch, *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, Worcester, 1921). This is probably the same William Hall who rode with BR to Crosswicks on the night of Jan. 1, 1777 (p. 127).

John Dunlap, 1747-1812, publisher of the *Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser*, in whose office the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the U.S. were first printed (DAB). During the Revolutionary War he was a member of the Philadelphia troop of horse. See below, p. 319, for BR's characterization.

Robert Wharton, 1757-1834, a merchant and a leading sportsman, was elected member of the common council of Philadelphia in 1792 and alderman in 1796. He was elected mayor fifteen times, beginning in 1798, and in that post served the city with courage and devotion (DAB).

Robert Patton (not "John") was deputy postmaster (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1794.

John Mease, born in Ireland, came to America in 1754. He fought at Trenton in the City Troop on Dec. 25, 1776. (*History of First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, 1774-1884*, Philadelphia, 1874.) He became a merchant and auctioneer (Philadelphia *Directories*, 1785-1794). BR's pupil James Mease, physician and antiquarian, was his son.

[21] William White, D.D., 1748-1836, first Episcopal bishop of Pennsylvania, was made assistant minister of Christ Church in 1772 and rector in 1779, and was consecrated bishop in 1787. He was chaplain of Congress during the Revolution and later of the U.S. Senate (DAB).

Robert Blackwell, D.D., 1748-1831, senior assistant to Dr. White in the pastorate of the "United Churches" (Christ Church and St. Peter's), was a member of the American Philosophical Society and trustee of the University of Pennsylvania (S. F. Hotchkin, *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware*, Philadelphia, 1890).

Samuel Magaw, D.D., 1735-1812, was minister of St. Paul's Church 1783-1804 and vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania. With Dr. Abercrombie he founded the Philadelphia Academy (Hotchkin, *op. cit.*). For BR's characterization see p. 320.

James Abercrombie, D.D., 1758-1841, graduate of the University of Pennsylvania 1776, was assistant minister of the "United Churches," chiefly at St. Peter's, 1794-1832; a founder and teacher of Philadelphia Academy; member of the American Philosophical Society (Hotchkin, *op. cit.*) and an authority on Samuel Johnson (A. H. Smyth, *Pennsylvania Magazines and their Contributors*, Philadelphia, 1892).

Jno. B. Smith was presumably Jonathan Bayard Smith, *q.v.*

[22] John Rush, 1777-1837, eldest child of BR; Anne Emily Rush, 1779-1850, the second child; Mary Rush, 1784-1834, sixth child (see Appendix 3, BR's Children).

Seth and Mary Willis were evidently the children of BR's half-sister by his mother's stone of my father, while the grave was receiving the beloved dust of my mother, suggested many new ideas to my mind. He died July 26, 1751. I fancied for a while there was a dialogue between the long sleeping dust of my father, and the body of my mother. "Welcome, said the former, to this peaceful retreat of pain and trouble. Be not alarmed in descending into this earth. Jesus has once lain here, and left behind him the perfume of his precious body." "Yes (I fancied I heard my dear mother reply), I come with joy to be reunited with the best of husbands in the grave. I have finished the work you assigned me on your death bed. I have educated my children as you directed. Some of them went to rest before me. The survivors will I hope be prepared to follow us, and share with us in the blessings of that gospel in which I have instructed them to all eternity."

August 2nd, 1798. This day heard of the death of my dear and only sister Rachel Montgomery She lived and died at Harrisburgh in Pennsylvania. She was a truly excellent woman. I never saw her angry, nor heard her speak ill of any one. She died full of faith and hope of happiness beyond the grave. (The following character of her was published in a Harrisburgh paper where she died, and republished in Mr. Bradford's paper).[23]

I have subjoined my physical history in No. 10[24] and given my reasons for it to my dear children. If it prevent an hour's disease, or a moment's pain to any one of them, I shall be highly gratified.

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first husband, Joseph Harvey (see p. 26 of this book). Nothing more is known of this branch of the family.

Mrs. Fullerton was BR's first cousin Mary Hall, 1752-1826, daughter of his mother's brother John Hall. She married Alexander Fullerton, 1748-1840, a merchant of Philadelphia.

Mrs. McConnell was Ruth Hall, 1756-1832, another of John Hall's daughters. She married Matthew McConnell, who is mentioned elsewhere in this book. Her son who attended the funeral was probably the eldest, Robert McConnell, 1781-1800.

(Data on the Fullertons and McConnells from Pleasants ms. notes.)

[23] A newspaper clipping is attached to the manuscript at this place. It is dated July 15, 1798, and cites the previous Saturday, which was July 11, as the day of Mrs. Montgomery's death.

[24] Notebook No. 10 is apparently no longer in existence. In 1814 James Rush had it with the others (letter of Richard Rush, May 23, 1814; see Introduction).

Memorable Facts,
Events, Opinions, Thoughts, &c.

Recorded by Benjamin Rush
in the Years 1789-1791

From the manuscript in possession of
The Library Company of Philadelphia
Broad and Christian Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Memorable Facts, Events, Opinions, Thoughts, &c.

Recorded by Benjamin Rush in the Years 1789-1791

[1786[1]]

September 23. Waited upon Dr. Franklin with Mr. Bee of South Carolina.[2] He said he believed the accounts of the plague in Turkey were often exaggerated. He once conversed with a Dr. McKensie,[3] who had resided 38 years in Constantinople, who told him there were 5 plagues in that city. 1. The plague of the druggerman [dragomen] or interpreters, who spread false stories of the prevalence of the plague in order to drive foreign ministers into the country, that they may enjoy leisure from their business of interpreting. 2. The plague of debtors, who when dunned look out of their windows, and tell their creditors not to come into their houses, for the plague was in them. 3. The plague of the doctors, for as they are never paid for their attendance upon such of their patients as die, unless it be with the plague, they make most of their fatal disease, the plague. The Doctor forgot the other two plagues, but added that Dr. McKensie, upon hearing that 660 persons who had died of the plague were carried out of one of the gates daily, had the curiosity to stand by that gate for one whole day, and counted but 66.

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[1] This first entry, which is one of those copied by BR from his commonplace books into his *Travels Through Life* (p. 92 of this edition) to illustrate his habit of recording interesting conversations, is not in the manuscript of 1789-1791. It must have come from some notebook antedating the manuscript in which the following entries are found, and is inserted here for completeness.

[2] Probably Thomas Bee, 1725-1812, born at Charleston, S.C. and educated there and at Oxford (England). He became a lawyer and planter, and served at various times in the State legislature and the Continental Congress. In 1790 Washington appointed him judge of the U.S. District Court for South Carolina (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*).

[3] Nothing more has been learned about this Dr. McKensie, whose name does not appear in available books of travel in Turkey in the 18th century.

[1788]

Mr. Grany of Jamaica[4] informed me, 1788, that he had been one of four gentlemen that had sat down at 2 o'clock and before 8 in the evening drank twenty four bottles of Madeira wine. Danl. Major was one of the company. He afterward suffered from Palsy, &c., and became a sot.

[1789]

May 19. Mr. Sharswood[5] informed me that in the course of forty-five years his family had never been called upon twice for a ground rent, owing to their punctuality in paying it. The man Thos. Say (aged above 80) to whom this rent was paid, suffered himself to be repeatedly dunned by the same Mr. Sharswood for £15-0-0.

May 31. A ditcher at Kensington who has worked up to his knees in water occasionally for 25 years, and is now 51 years of age, never eat warm victuals. He drank Rum when at work, by taking a spoonful of it in his mouth, and washing it down by cold water. He is now in good health (Geo. Roberts).[6]

Between the years 1775 and 1789, there was left on one side of the way, between any two streets, not more than 7 persons and in most places only 5 and 3. Such was the change made in the city of Philadelphia by the events of the Revolution.

In the West Indies, a labourer often drinks half a gallon of Rum and a sailor in the hold of his ship one gallon a day (Mr. Perrot).[7]

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[4] The name transcribed "Grany" may be Gracey. These bibulous gentlemen have not been further identified.

[5] Presumably James Sharswood, carpenter, who lived at 92 North Sixth Street in 1781, grandfather of an eminent judge of the same name (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791; Scharf-Westcott).

Thomas Say, 1709-1796, a well-known Quaker, father of Dr. Benjamin Say and grandfather of Thomas Say, 1787-1834, the naturalist (*A Short Compilation of the Extraordinary Life and Writings of Thomas Say in which is Copied from the Original Manuscript the Uncommon Vision that he Had When a Young Man*, ed. by Dr. Thomas Say, Philadelphia, 1796).

[6] For George Roberts, see p. 257, note 44.

[7] Elliston Perot, 1747-1834, and his brother John Perot, 1749-1841, were highly-regarded merchants. They were long in business in the British and Dutch West Indies before finally settling in Philadelphia. Elliston Perot was one of the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital 1789-1816 (Scharf-Westcott; Morton).

June. January 7th, Capts. Barry[8] and Truxton left Canton in China. Capt. Barry arrived in Philadelphia June 4, Truxton June 5. I saw Capt. Barry June 7th, who informed me that in the course of his long voyage out and home, consuming near 28 months, there had never been one dispute or angry word on board his vessel. Capt. Dale arrived from Canton in March 1796 in 11 months.

Col. Miles[9] informed me that 17 men who worked in the woods with him in 1787 eat three pounds of meat and two of bread every day, besides broth and vegetables, for many weeks. They all slept in straw.

June 19. There is now a horse alive and in good health in the Pennsylvania hospital which was in Braddock's defeat, July 9th, 1755, at which time he was supposed to be 3 or 4 years old. Of course, he is now either 37 or 38 years of age.

June 25. Jonth. Mifflin,[10] lately arrived from Canton, gave me the following facts respecting the Chinese. The labouring men are often bent and have large varices in their legs from carrying heavy burdens. They live chiefly on vegetables. He never saw but one Chinese angry. They are very ingenious in roguery. They count age honourable and advance one year when born, when married, and when they have a child born. Those who emigrate to Java and marry can only bring their sons back with them. 70,000 are settled in that Island. They never arrest a thief who is running away, but stop and laugh at the pursuers. Their vegetables have a vapid taste unlike ours. They manure their grounds only with human ordure, having no horses and few cattle to produce other manure. They have but one coin at Canton, called *cash*. It is copper whitened, about the size of a penny with a hole in the middle of it. The Chinese carry them to market on a string. 750 of them make a dollar.

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[8] John Barry, 1745-1803, commanded a frigate in the Revolutionary War. When the U.S. Navy was reorganized he was designated senior officer and was placed in command of the frigate United States. Meanwhile he made the one voyage to China mentioned by BR, departing in the spring of 1788 and returning June, 1789 (M. I. J. Griffin, *Commodore John Barry*, Philadelphia, 1908).

Thomas Truxtun, 1755-1822, distinguished Revolutionary naval officer, was engaged in the East India trade for some years (DAB).

Richard Dale, 1756-1826, whose brilliant naval career in the Revolutionary War and subsequent tranquil life in Philadelphia are summarized in DAB, was in the merchant marine from 1783 to 1794, chiefly in command of East Indiamen.

The arrival of these ships from China was noteworthy because they had hastened to anticipate the passage of import duties then hotly under debate in Congress (*The Journal of William Maclay*, ed. by C. A. Beard, New York, 1927, entry of June 8, 1789).

[9] Presumably Samuel Miles, 1739-1805, Revolutionary soldier, later judge and Mayor of Philadelphia (Scharf-Westcott).

[10] Jonathan Mifflin was a son of John Mifflin (1720-1798), a prominent merchant of Philadelphia dealing in East India goods. Jonathan M. was therefore a second cousin of Governor Thomas Mifflin (*J. H. Merrill, Memoranda Relating to the Mifflin Family*, Philadelphia, 1890). He became cashier of the Bank of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791).

June. Mrs. A— arrived in Philadelphia in a consumption, without her husband, whom she left in good health in Charleston. Revd. Mr. Hurt[11] informed me that Genl. P - - - - - - y left his wife in the last stage of the same disorder to attend back county courts in South Carolina. She died in his absence as was expected. Does the small share the women take in the management of their families, in South Carolina, render them less necessary to the happiness of their husbands? and is this the reason why they were less devoted to their wives in the two instances that have been mentioned? If it is, it furnishes a new and strong argument against negro slavery.

July 2. Mrs. Patten informed me that she had delivered between 9990 and 10,000 women, inclusive of seven months' children, and lost only one. Mrs. Patten is 58 years of age.

August 14. Mr. Maclay[12] (of the Senate of the United States) drank tea with me. He observed that half the Senate were lawyers; that he never knew one of them retract or alter an opinion after the fullest discussion of it, which he ascribed to their habits of contending for victory instead of truth at the Bar. He added further that he had heard Jno. Adams say, in a private company, "The more ignorant people are, the more easily they will be governed."

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[11] All that is known of Rev. John Hurt is that a minister of that name emigrated to Virginia in 1775 (Gerald Fothergill, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811*, London, 1904). He was chaplain to Gen. Weedon's brigade of the Continental army and preached a sermon on "The Love of our Country" before the Virginia troops in 1777 (Frank Moore, *Patriot Preachers of the American Revolution*, New York, 1862).

"General P - - - - - - y" was presumably Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, 1746-1825, distinguished lawyer and Revolutionary soldier. His first wife, Sarah Middleton, died in 1784 (DAB).

[12] William Maclay, 1734-1804, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania 1789-1791, was a strong antagonist of the Federalists and opposed Hamilton's financial program in the interest of the small farmer class. His caustic but well-informed diary, first published in 1880, is important for the political and economic struggles of the period (DAB; *The Journal of William Maclay*, ed. by C. A. Beard, New York, 1927).

August 16. I met James Pemberton, Jno. Parrish, and Jer. Parker[13] in the street, and proposed to them to get on foot an association to purchase 500 barrels of maple sugar every year in order to encourage the manufacturing of that article in Pennsylvania, and thereby to lessen or destroy the consumption of West India sugar, and thus indirectly to destroy negro slavery. They were pleased with the proposal and agreed to meet on the Tuesday following at James Pemberton's at 6 o'clock. I afterward invited Tench Coxe to the meeting who was charmed with the idea.[14]

August 21. Took leave this day of Mrs. Patten, who is to sail tomorrow for Charleston, where she intends to reside upon the account of her health. She told me that she had often been assisted supernaturally where her judgement and knowledge failed her, in difficult cases of midwifry, in consequence of prayers offered up secretly for divine direction. She said she had never made this confession to any one before.

Out of 100 persons born in one year, at the end of

YEARS		REMAINED
6	—	64
16	—	46
26	—	26
36	—	16
46	—	10
56	—	6
66	—	3
76	—	1

TAKEN FROM AN ENGLISH PAPER

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[13] James Pemberton, 1723-1809, Quaker merchant and philanthropist, was especially interested in the welfare of the Negroes; he succeeded Franklin as president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Negro Slavery (DAB).

John Parrish, 1729-1807, a prominent Quaker travelling preacher, devoted himself to the cause of the Indians and Negroes (Dillwyn Parrish, ms. *Memoirs of the Parrish Family*, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society).

Jeremiah Parker, gentleman, lived at 12 North Third Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791); for years the business firm of Jeremiah Warder Parker & Co. was located at the same address.

[14] The company was formally organized in September 1792. Three years later the managers reported that the scheme had been found "inexpedient" and that it had lost £1400. The subscribers, about 25 in number, gave consent to liquidate the business by signing a document dated November 9, 1795, now at the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

BR's interest in sugar-maple culture had led him to prepare and read to the American Philosophical Society on August 9, 1791, his "Account of the Sugar Maple-tree of the United States" (*Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.*, 1793, III, 64-81).

September 15. This day a recommendation passed the Assembly to call a convention to alter the Constitution of Pennsylvania. The motion for this measure originated last spring in my house, on an evening which Jas. Wilson, Gerard Wynkoop,[15] Thos. Fitzsimons and Wm. McClay spent with me. The circular letters which produced the petitions for this measure were signed by Wm. Bingham, James Wilson, Major Sam Hodgdon, Wm. Nicholls, Geo. Latimer and Benjn. Rush. These letters were accompanied with suitable publications.

September 18. Met Benjn. Condy[16] at his father's a few hours after he returned from the Virginia Sweet Springs in Bottetout [Botetourt] County, 400 miles from Philadelphia. He informed me that the waters were heavier than common spring water and had an acid taste (from alum); that he drank lb. xvi every day; that some persons drank five gallons a day; that the temperature of the water was 73°, and the heat of the climate the same; that there was frost there in

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[15] Gerardus Wynkoop, 1732-ca.1812, was an officer in the Revolutionary army. He was excise officer of Bucks Co., Pa., 1784-1786; member of the Pennsylvania Assembly for 19 years, and speaker during part of that time (Richard Wynkoop, *Wynkoop Genealogy in the United States of America*, New York, 1904).

Thomas Fitzsimmons, 1741-1811, West India merchant of Philadelphia, took an active part in State and national affairs, as well as in large financial enterprises. He was a member of Congress 1789-1795, aligning himself with the Federalists (DAB; see below, p. 318, for an interesting characterization by BR).

William Bingham, 1752-1804, man of affairs, was said to have been the richest man in the U.S. in his time. His charming wife, née Ann Willing, made his home an important center of social affairs. He was a member of the Continental Congress 1786-1789; the Pennsylvania Assembly 1790-1795; the U.S. Senate 1795-1801. During the post-war period he became heavily involved in speculation in government paper (DAB; see BR's characterization, p. 268).

Samuel Hodgdon, ?-1824, served in the commissary department of the army, beginning in 1777. He was commissary general from 1781 to 1784. In 1791 he was quartermaster of St. Clair's army (see below, p. 222, note 26). Accused of contributing to the disaster of November 4 by incompetence and misconduct, he was superseded April 1792. In 1795 he was intendant of the stores of the U.S. at Philadelphia (F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, Washington*, 1914; Philadelphia *Directory* for 1795; *A Narrative of the Manner in which the Campaign against the Indians was Conducted . . . under the Command of Major General St. Clair*, Philadelphia, 1812; James R. Jacobs, *The Beginning of the U.S. Army, 1783-1812*, Princeton 1947).

William Nichols, a merchant in Philadelphia as early as 1780 (BR's Index of Accounts, Rush mss.), was clerk of the mayor's court 1794, U.S. marshal for district of Pennsylvania 1796-1798, merchant at 117 Sassafras St. 1800 (Philadelphia *Directories*).

George Latimer, a flour merchant, was collector of the Port of Philadelphia in 1794 and speaker of the House in the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1799 (Scharf-Westcott).

[16] Benjamin Condy, mathematical instrument maker, 81 South Front Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1794).

August, and that during the whole summer fires were agreeable morning and evening (Lat. 36°). These waters have been frequented 17 years by from 200 to 500 invalids yearly, and only 16 persons have died there; plenty of good provisions in the neighbourhood; country around high and dry. Good effects arise 1, from the journey; 2, pure air; 3, temperate living and freedom from care and hopes excited by histories of cures; 4, the water. A smaller quantity of lime juice makes punch of this water than of common water.

The Revd. Mr. Jno. King[17] settled as a parish minister in a congregation in West Conecocheague [Mercersburg, Pennsylvania] in Franklin county on August 25, 1769. His congregation then consisted of about 140 families. During 20 years residence among them, the following events have happened, (Aug. 23, 1789).

Baptized	596
Admitted to church communion	292
Married, pairs	106
Died, aged persons 47, middle aged 47, Children 60 =	154
Killed in battle	5
" by accidents	5
Died at Camp	2
" by oppression in New York	3
Emigrated, of the original members and their families	240
Remain, distinct families, the same as in 1769	140 families

[Pages 83, 84 of MS. are missing]

. . . . his advice, and the enemy retreated. The Colonel[18] added that

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[17] John King, D.D., 1740-1811, Presbyterian minister, born in Lancaster Co., Pa., taught school at West Conococheague, Cumberland Co., about 1760-1763; preached at New London, Pa., then at Conococheague from 1769 until shortly before his death (Sprague). He was a charter trustee of Dickinson College and one of BR's staunchest supporters in that enterprise.

[18] Opposite "the Colonel" is written in pencil "Adam Stephen?" According to a letter written by BR, Feb. 12, 1812 (LHB, *Rush Letters*) he had a conversation in 1775 with Adam Stephen (ca. 1725-1791), a Scot who studied medicine at Edinburgh and became an officer of Virginia troops under Washington in 1754. He was appointed brigadier general in the Continental army, fought at Trenton and was promoted major general in 1777. He led one of the columns at the Brandywine. Following a blunder in the fighting at Germantown, October 4, 1777, he was dismissed from the service on charges of drunkenness, November 20, 1777 (*Appleton's Cycl. Am. Biog.*, supplemented by information from Dr. Douglas S. Freeman).

Mr. Holt [Hott?][19] of Virginia wondered at General Washington's military fame, for that he was a very dull young man. As a proof of it, he mentioned that he was unable to count some change he once saw him receive in a store.

October 15. This afternoon I was called to visit Dr. Morgan, but found him dead in a small hovel, surrounded with books and papers, and on a light dirty bed. He was attended only by a washerwoman, one of his tenants. His niece, Polly Gordon,[20] came in time enough to see him draw his last breath. His disorder was the Influenza, but he had been previously debilitated by many other disorders. What a change from his former rank and prospects in Life! The man who once filled half the world with his name, had now scarcely friends enough left to bury him.

[1790]

January. Visited and attended And. Ellicot,[21] who had just returned from an excursion to Niagara. He measured the falls. They were 149 feet and 9 inches in height. They were 14 miles above the original descent of the mountain. At the foot of the falls, voices and conversation were heard distinctly. The spray wetted him to the skin 100 yards from the falls. The falls never freeze for several miles above and below them, but the spray freezes on the neighbouring trees and by its weight breaks their limbs. The ice which falls from these limbs sometimes covers the ground below them two feet. The noise of the falls is heard 20 miles off. It shakes the houses near it like an earthquake. He saw many Indians in his excursion, whom he heartily despised for fraud, lying, and drunkenness. They call Rum "fire broth."

40 millions of persons perished from religious wars and persecutions between 1520 and 1560 (The Christian Circle, from Mr. Wesley's Sermon on Zeal). Gal. iv:18.

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[19] Possibly John Holt, 1721-1784, printer, of Virginia and New York (DAB).

[20] In spite of thorough search, no record of Polly Gordon has been found and her precise relationship to John Morgan remains unknown.

[21] Andrew Ellicott, 1754-1820, surveyor and mathematician, took part in many of the early boundary surveys. As a member of the British-American survey to fix the southwestern boundary of New York State, he seized the opportunity to make the earliest topographical study of the Niagara River. His letter to BR describing the falls, dated Dec. 10, 1789, was published in several contemporary magazines and was reprinted in *Pub. Buffalo Hist. Soc.*, 1911, XV. On Jan. 16, 1790 Ellicott wrote to his wife from Philadelphia "A visit of five hours from Dr. Rush" (Catharine Van C. Mathews, *Andrew Ellicott, his Life and Letters*, New York, 1908).

LOVE

1. *Holy tempers*, such as long suffering, goodness, gentleness, meekness, fidelity, temperance, and all that is included in the mind of Jesus Christ.

2. *Works of mercy* to the souls and bodies of men. These are means of grace.

3. *Works of piety*, reading and hearing the word, public and private prayer, receiving the Sacrament, fasting and abstinence.

4. Assembling ourselves together in a church.

March 17. Visited Mr. Jefferson on his way to New York. It was the first time I saw him since his return from France.[22] He was plain in his dress and unchanged in his manners. He still professed himself attached to republican forms of government, and deplored the change of opinion upon this subject in John Adams, of whom he spoke with respect and affection as a great and upright man. He said Mr. Madison[23] "was the greatest man in the world"; that Dr. Witherspoon, his master, had said of him "that he never knew him do or say an improper thing" when at School. He told me further that upon inquiry he found that most of the animals in Europe were of different species from the same animals in this country. He said he had convinced Buffon[24] of this, with respect to some animals, before he died, particularly the Buck and doe. The American Buck has horns three feet long, and the French or European Buck only one foot.

March 21. This forenoon Dr. Blackwell and 10 other persons fainted in St. Peter's Church, from the heat of the day, which was much encreased by the heat of the stoves and the Church having been shut up for one week.

March 24. This evening died Dr. Ab. Chovet[25] aged 86. He was a minute anatomist, but grossly ignorant of medicine. He rejected all the improvements in physic, within the last 60 years, and despised all modern physicians. He gloried in his age, and used to say a physician was an impostor who did not live 'till he was 80. He was a most profane Swearer. Upon being reproved for swearing by Dr. Inglis[26] in New York, he said "Doctor, you pray, and think no good; I swear and think no harm." He had lost all his teeth, which led him to say he could not go to hell, for there would be gnashing of teeth, which could not be his punishment. He was much afflicted with the gout, and had had several acute diseases in the course of his life, one in Jamaica in which he was given over, and a report spread of his death in England, so that his children went in mourning for him. He walked the streets of Philadelphia and visited patients 'till within a few days of his death.

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[22] Thomas Jefferson had returned from France, where he had been U.S. minister, in October 1790. He was on his way to New York City, then capital of the U.S., to become Secretary of State.

[23] James Madison, afterwards President of the U.S., was at the time of this conversation a member of Congress, having served his country in many important tasks. He was at Princeton while Witherspoon was president of the college, and remained for a special postgraduate course of reading under his guidance.

[24] George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, 1707-1788, celebrated French naturalist. His theories about animal life in America are discussed by Gilbert Chinard, "Eighteenth Century Theories on America as a Human Habitat," *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, 1947, XCI, 27.

[25] Abraham Chovet, 1704-1790, born in England, studied medicine in England and France, and was demonstrator in anatomy to the Worshipful Company of Barber-Surgeons of London in 1734. He removed to Jamaica and thence to Philadelphia,

April 18. Last evening at 11 o'clock died the venerable Dr. Franklin. He had been reduced by the stone in his bladder, but died finally of a pleurisy which terminated in an abscess in his lungs from which he discharged matter a few days before his death. This pleurisy was caught by lying with his windows open. He possessed his reason to the last day of his life, but spoke nothing of his future existence or expectation beyond the grave.[27] On the same day at 2 o'clock died Mrs. Grace Coxe. Of these two persons it may be said, that they were an honor and ornament of human nature, the first for understanding, the second for beauty and female excellency. It was impossible for our city to be deprived in one day, of two characters like them. Dr. Franklin died in his 85th year, Mrs. Coxe in her 24th. They belonged to the first class of beings.[28]

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where he arrived about 1770. He gave lectures in anatomy there beginning 1774, and made exquisite anatomical models in wax. When more than 80 years of age he became one of the founders of the College of Physicians. As BR's characterization indicates, Chovet was a man of salty and eccentric character. It is said that he was a Whig while the British were in Philadelphia and a Tory after they left. His reputation for sarcastic wit and for profanity matched the esteem felt for him as anatomist and (in his younger days at least) as a medical practitioner (DAB). All the known facts about him were gathered by W. S. Miller in "Abraham Chovet, an Early Teacher of Anatomy in Philadelphia," *Anatomical Record*, 1911, v.

[26] Charles Inglis, D.D., 1734-1816, born in Ireland, was assistant to the rector of Trinity Church, New York, 1765-1777, and rector until 1783, when he was forced to return to England because of his loyalist conduct during the war. He was consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787 (DAB).

[27] BR did not attend Franklin, Dr. John Jones being the physician in charge.

[28] "On Saturday the 17th instant departed this life, Mrs. Grace Coxe, consort of

Dr. Franklin's last publication was to ridicule a defense of the slavery of the negroes by Genl. Jackson, a member of Congress.[29] To record all the exploits of his benevolence, and the discoveries of his genius, would employ a volume.

Wednesday, 21st April. Attended the funeral of Dr. Franklin. The concourse of spectators and followers were supposed to amount to 20,000 people. On the Monday preceding I visited at the Doctor's old mansion house, and was introduced by Mr. Bache,[30] his son-in-law, to view his corpse. It was much reduced, but not changed. Had his beard been shaved after his death, he would have looked like himself, but this was forbidden by Mr. Bache. I obtained a promise, while viewing him, from Mr. Bache, of a lock of his hair, which I afterward procured, and sent some of it to Dr. Price[31] and some of it to the Marquis of Fayette.

April 29. Met Mr. Dobson at Dr. Spence's,[32] who said "that there must be some medical error in that man who never erred."

April 30. Met Mr. Chas. Thompson this morning who said "that he had enjoyed more health, peace and happiness within nine months on his farm than he had enjoyed in the last 20 years of his life."

Met Col. Coperthwaite at Capt. Colling's,[33] who told me that two thirds of all the executions he brought during the three years he was

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John D. Coxe, Esq., of this city, and daughter of Thomas Riche of New Windsor. In the hearts of her many weeping friends this accomplished and truly amiable lady will continue to live through the sweet remembrance of her lovely form, her elegant and endearing manners, and her numerous virtues" (*Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, April 22, 1790).

John D. Coxe was chief judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1790; presiding judge of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, 1800, and later was presiding judge of the first circuit (Scharf-Westcott).

[29] "On the Slave Trade," in a letter to the *Federal Gazette* written March 23, 1790 (*Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1905-1907, x, 86-91; see Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, 1945, p. 775). The victim of Franklin's ridicule was James Jackson, 1785-1806, at the time representative in Congress (later Senator) from Georgia.

[30] Richard Bache, 1737-1811 (DAB).

[31] Richard Price, D.D., 1723-1791, non-conformist minister, statistician and philosopher, pastor at Newington Green, near London, was an intimate friend of Franklin (DNB) and an active opponent of the war with America. BR's letter to him accompanying the lock of hair is printed in Sparks' edition of the *Works of Franklin*, L, 531.

[32] Presumably Thomas Dobson, printer, 41 South Second Street.

The only Dr. Spence in the Philadelphia *Directory* of the nearest year (1793) was Andrew Spence, dentist.

[33] Joseph Cowperthwaite, who had been an officer of the Pennsylvania militia

Sheriff in Philadelphia were against persons who had been securities for their friends.

From May 1779 to May 1780 5,024 pounds of plate at 5/3 per pound were assayed and stamped at Goldsmith's Hall, and 717 pounds of gold (The late Fisher).[84]

May 17. Met in the course of the last month with several facts which shewed that even yet the Tories were not reconciled to Independance. A woman in New Jersey upon hearing Dr. Franklin commended as a good man said "How can he be a good man? Did he not help to bring on Independance?" A man of some note in Philadelphia upon hearing of the death of Dr. Franklin said that it would have been happy for America if he and Lord North[35] had died twenty years ago. It is remarkable that the Tories hated every man who had been one of their number and afterwards entered into the views of the Whigs. The same man who made the above speech, upon hearing of Tench Coxe having an appointment under the Federal government said "That fellow conducted the British army into the city of Philadelphia in the year 1777."

May 27. Met the Revd. Dr. Muhlenberg[36] in the street. He said that his father had taught him not to buy a large library, but to read the book of Nature and to record every fact and thought he heard of, or that occurred in his own mind. He told me that he had done so and found immense benefit from it. He said he kept one book for facts, and one for opinions.[37]

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during the Revolutionary war, was sheriff of Philadelphia 1785-1788 (Martin).

A Robert Collins, sea captain, 45 Lombard Street, is listed in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791.

[84] Possibly William Fisher, Esq., merchant, Arch Street between Front and Second, who had died relatively recently.

[35] Frederick, Earl of Guilford, known as Lord North, 1733-1792, prime minister of Great Britain during the Revolutionary war.

[36] Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, 1753-1815, Lutheran minister and botanist, was at this time pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Lancaster, Pa., and president of Franklin (now Franklin and Marshall) College (DAB). He was a botanist of international standing, and kept a calendar of the flowering plants in the vicinity of Lancaster (see the entry of June 2, below; but in view of Muhlenberg's reputation for accuracy, we must suppose that BR's report of the conversation exaggerates the fixity of dates of flowering).

[37] The views of G. H. E. Muhlenberg's father, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, 1711-1787, about the non-essentiality of a personal library, perhaps grew out of his own experience, which was that of a good scholar who left books behind him in Germany to make a notable career in the colonies as a missionary (DAB, art. *H. M. Muhlenberg*).

On Solitude

The powers of the human mind appear to be arranged in a certain order like the strata of earth. They are thrown out of their order by the fall of man. The moral powers appear to have occupied the highest and first place. They recover it in solitude, and after sleep, hence the advantage of solitary punishments, and of consulting our morning pillow in cases where there is a doubt of what is right, or duty. The first thoughts in a morning if followed seldom deceive or mislead us. They are generally seasoned by the moral powers.

In Macbeth a lady is restrained from the murder of a king by his resemblance of her father as he slept. Should not all men be restrained from acts of violence and even of unkindness against their fellow men by observing in them something which resembles the Saviour of the World? If nothing else certainly, a human figure?

June 2. Dr. Muhlenberg this day informed me that flowers appear on different days 'till the 1st of June according to the Weather. After June they always appear every year on the same day of the month. This he had observed for 10 years. Children change their sports, he says, with the same regularity as to time. This was observed by a gentleman in New York likewise.

June 5. This morning I delivered to the convention of the Universal[ist] Church in the Lodge (their Church) a copy of their articles and plan of government which at their request I corrected and arranged for them. In the meeting I saw and was introduced to the Revd. Mr. Jno. Murray.[38] Saw him and his wife on the 6th. In our conversation he remarked that in reforming mankind, the influence of the following descriptions of people were necessary, and in the order they are arranged. 1, Women. 2, Schoolmasters. 3, ministers. 4. magistrates. He told me that when he went to Boston 20 years ago, there was not one Universalist in that town. Now they have a Church there.

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[38] John Murray, 1741-1815, leader of the organized Universalist movement in the U.S., was born in England, where he was a friend of John Wesley and in his youth led a Methodist boys' class. Later he became a follower of Whitefield. The interesting story of his adoption of Universalism and career in America is sketched in DAB.

Judith Sargent Stevens Murray, 1751-1820, poet and essayist, who became the second wife of Rev. John Murray in 1788, was previously married to Capt. John Stevens of Gloucester, Mass., who died in Sta. Eustatia, B. W. I., in 1786 (DAB).

June 9. Met Mr. Murray in the street. He told me that he had heard from some of Dr. Watts's friends in London that they had discovered among his papers after his death a defense of universal salvation, but that they had burnt it to prevent its injuring the credit of his other works. He remarked that many of his hymns were universal.[39]

A Thought

There is reading without learning (Dr. Birch[40]); learning without knowledge; knowledge without sense; and sense without genius. And vice versa.

June 15. Spent half an hour with Mr. Murray. He told me that he had read but little, except in his Bible, and that all his best thoughts occurred to him without study in the pulpit. He informed me further that he had once been a Methodist preacher under the Revd. Mr. Westley.

June 17. Was consulted for a deafness in one ear by a Mr. Wells from Glossenburgh [Glastonbury] in Connecticut,[41] who told me that he failed in trade, and that when he left his native town, many of the inhabitants offered to lend him money;—a proof this, said he, that the laws which punish debtors are too severe, and that there is a principle implanted in the heart of man by the Creator which revolts at such laws, and declares them to be unjust. Mr. Wells told me further that a certain Josiah Hale[42] of Glossenburgh, a magistrate and deacon of a church, of large fortune, had sold an old worn-out negro man who had been born in his father's family and had attended him when a child, to a Carolina planter for 20 dollars. He added that upon telling this story in a tavern near Boston, a servant girl who waited upon table was so affected with it as to run out of the room on purpose that she might indulge her tears.

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[39] Isaac Watts, D.D., 1674-1748, evangelical clergyman and celebrated hymn-writer, while not explicitly a Universalist, at least shrank from the doctrine of reprobation. His hymns are characteristically free from hell-fire dogmas. The familiar "Jesus shall reign where e'er the sun" illustrates well enough what BR meant. It is true that certain writings of Watts's declining years, believed to be unitarian, were suppressed by his literary executors (DNB).

[40] The reference is probably to some passage or other in the voluminous works of Thomas Birch, D.D., 1705-1766 (DNB).

[41] Welles was a common name in Wethersfield and Glastonbury. This was probably Roswell Welles, born 1761; he graduated from Yale in 1784, studied law and settled at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where he was a judge for several years (Alonzo B. Chapin, *Glastonbury for Two Hundred Years*, Hartford, 1853).

[42] Josiah Hale, born 1747, after being graduated from Yale 1765, resided on his farm and was for many years town clerk of Glastonbury. He filled many other local public offices, and represented the town in the Connecticut General Assembly several times (Chapin, cited under Welles, above).

June 28. Mrs. Murray (wife of the Revd. Mr. Murray) informed me that her first husband died in the West Indies, and that she dreamed she saw him easy and happy at the very moment on which the accounts of his death said that he died, on March 8th, 11 o'clock at night. Mr. Chew[43] had a similar dream respecting his father, and Mr. Nicklin respecting his sister. There was a similar one in Jno. (Jos.?) Donaldson's family, and Joseph Claypool's. The latter heard a voice call him three times "Da! O Da!" in Lancaster in a dream; at that instant one of his children died in Philadelphia.

Mr. Thos. Firmin,[44] a pious merchant and celebrated for his charities during the great plague in 1665 and the great fire in 1666 in London, lost his wife at Ipswich while he was at Cambridge. What was remarkable, he dreamed that she died at the very instant she breathed her last (Mr. Simpson's discourse on Beneficence).[45]

July. Drank tea with Mr. Smith and Mrs. Smith at Roxbury.[46] Mr. Smith told me an anecdote that strongly demonstrated the passion of the English nation for laying wagers. He told me that his brother had won 200 guineas from one man and 100 from another by laying a wager that his mother would outlive their mother. She is now living and ninety years of age.

July 7. Met Able James[47] in his son's store. He told me that he had discovered in copies of many private letters from Dr. Franklin to his friends in America before he returned to Philadelphia in 1775 that he was strongly opposed to Independance. Dr. Franklin is supposed by half the world to have projected it. Mr. James informed me further that he had discovered strong marks of Vanity in the Doctor in the last years of his life. I once discovered one, viz: I asked him for a sight of a copy of a letter to Mr. Strahan of London[48] which I had seen commended in an account of the life of Strahan. He told me that he had it not. Six months afterward he sent it to me. I had reason to believe that he had sent to the executors of Mr. Strahan for it.

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[43] Presumably Benjamin Chew, 1722-1810, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and after 1791 president of the High Court of Errors and Appeals (DAB). See BR's characterization of him, p. 288.

Philip Nicklin, presumably the person mentioned here, was a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania and of the Insurance Company of North America (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1793).

The first name of Mr. Donaldson is obscurely written. It begins with "J." John Donaldson, wine merchant, was registrar general of Pennsylvania. Joseph Donaldson was listed as a merchant in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1793.

Joseph Claypool, hatter and china shop, 4 South Front Street; commissioner for lighting and paving streets (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1794).

[44] Thomas Firmin, 1632-1697. English merchant and philanthropist (DNB).

[45] David Simpson, 1745-1799, first Anglican, then Methodist minister at Macclesfield; an opponent of Priestley's unitarianism: *On Beneficence*, 1789 (see his posthumous *A Plea for the Deity of Jesus, with a Memoir of the Author by Edward Parsons*, London, 1812).

[46] These Smiths have not been further identified.

[47] Abel James, 1726-1790, was in the shipping and importing business with BR's friend Henry Drinker under the firm name of James and Drinker. They had a wharf on the Delaware near Arch Street. (Cecil K. Drinker, *Not So Long Ago*, New York, 1937). James was a member of the American Philosophical Society.

July 12. Mr. Wilson told me that one of the charges brought against Mr. Vanderen[49] in court to prove him insane, was that he had proposed to bring the waters of the Wissahiccon Creek to Philadelphia by means of pipes. Dr. Franklin bequeathed £1000 for that very purpose, and obtained for his legacy the character of a wise and benevolent man.

July 19. This day waited on Col. McIlvery[50], and walked with him to Mr. Peal's museum.[51] I invited him to breakfast with me the next day, but he told me he was going out of town early the next morning. I asked him for the liberty of addressing a few questions relating to the Indians, in a letter, which he said he would endeavour to answer. He spoke with great pleasure of his prospects of civilizing the Creek Indians.

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[48] William Strahan, 1715-1785, printer and publisher of London, and longtime friend of Franklin (DNB). The letter was very likely the famous one Franklin wrote to Strahan July 5, 1775, ending "You are now my enemy, and I am Yours, B. Franklin." Although it has been stated by various writers that this letter was not actually sent, Mr. Carl Van Doren points out (personal communication) that Sparks (*Works of Franklin*, VIII, 155) says that Strahan himself gave it to the newspapers.

[49] Samuel Coates, in an undated entry in his notebook (see p. 83, note 12) says that John Vanderen was the proprietor of a beautiful mill seat on the Schuylkill and was a leader among the millers of Philadelphia; but that in his later years he became deranged and his family had to have him declared insane. The trial was crowded and Mr. Vanderen spoke shrewdly and wittily in his own defence. He was, however, committed to the Pennsylvania Hospital and died there. No reference to the trial has been found in the Philadelphia court dockets.

[50] The name, as written by BR, is hard to decipher, and "McIlvery" is the best that can be made of it. This must have been Alexander McGillivray, ca. 1759-1793, Creek Indian chief of mixed blood who was a British agent during the Revolution and from 1784 to his death was engaged in fighting and maneuvering to organize a confederation of the southern Indians against the U.S. This identification, suggested by Mr. Charles Coleman Sellers, is supported by the fact that McGillivray was in Philadelphia at this time, on his way to New York (where he arrived July 21) to negotiate a treaty with the United States (A. P. Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, 1928, v, 289; W. M. Willett, *A Narrative of the Military Actions of Col. Marinus Willett*, New York, 1831).

[51] Charles Wilson Peale's museum was then in his residence, Third and Lombard Streets (Scharf-Westcott).

Sir,

In consequence of your polite promise of this morning, to answer me a few questions relative to the Indians, I have taken the liberty of inserting them in this letter. I beg you will not put yourself to any immediate inconvenience in writing your answers. They will be equally acceptable whether I receive them now, or upon your return from New York.

1. What diseases are most common among your Indians?
2. Do the Indian women ever die in childbed?
3. Is there much mortality among Indian children?
4. Is suicide ever known among the Indians?
5. Do the faculties of the mind discover the same, or greater marks of decay in old people among the Indians, than among the civilized Americans?
6. Is the passion for the female sex as strong, and as much disposed to excess and irregularity among the Indians as among civilized people? Is it weakened, or strengthened by the toils of war and hunting?

I beg your acceptance of a small volume of essays,[52] in one of which I have attempted under many disadvantages to ascertain the diseases and remedies of the Indians. You will much oblige me by pointing out such mistakes as you may discover in reading it.

With sincere wishes that your laudable attempts to extend the blessings of civilization to our western countrymen may be crowned with success, I am Sir &c

B. Rush

[One leaf, pp. 99-100, has been
torn out of the manuscript.]

. . . . he was my Schoolmate at Dr. Finley's School, and my intimate friend for twenty years.[53] There was at all times a perfect sympathy

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[52] *An Enquiry into the Natural History of Medicine Among the Indians in North America, and a Comparative View of their Diseases and Remedies, with those of Civilized Nations*, Philadelphia, 1774. (An oration, delivered Feb. 4, 1774, before the American Philosophical Society.)

[53] This fragment, from which BR removed both the date and the name of the person concerned when he tore out the preceding leaf, undoubtedly refers to Gerardus Clarkson, who died Sept. 19 (*Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser*, Sept. 22, 1790). The previous entry was dated July 19; the following, Oct. 12. Clarkson was the only Philadelphia physician whose death was recorded in the newspapers during that period. His known character fits that described here.

Gerardus Clarkson was born in New York in 1737. His widowed mother married Rev. Gilbert Tennent and moved to Philadelphia, 1743. Clarkson studied medicine with Dr. Thomas Bond and in Edinburgh, Paris, and Italy. He was greatly reof opinions between us upon all subjects. I loved him like a brother, and have profited much by his friendship. We seldom passed a day without meeting in the streets, and there is scarcely a street or a corner in Philadelphia that will not remind me as long as I live of some agreeable or useful conversation I have had with him. He lived with his children like a friend and companion. I have seen more grief, but never so much sorrow upon the death of a parent as in his family. He was a truly religious man, of a meek and gentle deportment. He died full of peace and joy. About an hour before he died he asked what day it was; upon being told it was Sunday he said "O! blessed day!" and added "I see a great light." He was a judicious and respectable physician and a man of a considerable share of general reading and knowledge.

October 12. This day Genl. Mifflin was elected Governor of Pennsylvania. This man was known to be of a very immoral character. He had lived in a state of adultery with many women during the life of his wife, and had children by some of them, whom he educated in his own family. It is said his wife died last summer of a broken heart in consequence of this conduct towards her. Besides this vice, he was much addicted to swearing and obscene conversation. His political character was as bad as his moral. He had deserted his friends and joined with the men who slandered them. He was wholly dissipated and given to low company. His popularity was acquired by the basest acts of familiarity with the meanest of the people. He avoided the society of gentlemen and cherished that of the mechanicks. He lived beyond his income, and was much in debt. He was elected by 1700 votes in our city, and near 30,000 in the whole State. The Quakers generally supported him.

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spected as a physician of character and skill. He was early elected to the American Philosophical Society, and was one of the founders of the College of Physicians, a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and a prominent churchman.

The statement made here by BR, that Clarkson was his fellow student at Nottingham Academy is the only record of that fact. His name does not appear in the alumni list of the school (which however is known to be incomplete). After the death of Sarah Hall Finley, BR's aunt (wife of Samuel Finley, the headmaster), Anna Clarkson, sister of Gerardus, became Finley's second wife, a fact which strengthens the probability that Gerardus Clarkson studied with Finley. Samuel Clarkson, in *Memoirs of Matthew Clarkson of Philadelphia and his Brother, Gerardus Clarkson*, Philadelphia, 1890, says "there is no record of Gerardus or his brother Matthew at either of the schools of learning mentioned" (i.e. Log College and the College of New Jersey). A statement by J. W. Croskey, *The History of Blockley*, Philadelphia, 1929, that Gerardus Clarkson attended Log College is thus without foundation.

October 28. This day Mr. Tate of Jamaica[54] gave me the following account of the culture of the sugar cane and the manufacturing of sugar in that island.

The cane is taken from May to December from a nursery and planted in joints lengthwise in holes of 4 feet square, and which hole is gradually filled up with the earth which comes out of it 'till the shoots rise above the level of the ground. Sometimes the cane grows from the roots of the last year. These canes are called *Rattoons.* They are used generally only every other year or season, tho' in some soils many *Rattoons* have been obtained from the same stock after cutting it.

The dead or decayed leaves are stripped from the cane *four* times before it attains its growth. This is called *Trashing.*

The canes are cut in 16 months after they are planted. They spoil unless they are ground in 24 or 48 hours after they are cut, so that they will serve only for making Rum. The best sugar is obtained in moderately dry seasons. The Rattoons are tho't to be the most productive. They are generally mixed with fresh cuttings.

The boiling season is from January 'till May, during which time it is not interrupted day or night 'till it is finished. The fire for boiling is made of corn stocks and other trash.

[pp. 105-112 of ms. have been torn out]

. . . . who had fled from France from disaffection to the Revolution. He had made several large purchases in different places of land on the Ohio for settlements of his family, which consisted of 40 persons, children and grandchildren. He did not chuse to settle them near each other, that he might (he said) establish *harmony* among them, for children when they live near each other from a competition of interests seldom agree. Mr. De Berdt[55] had bought a large tract of land on the Ohio of General Washington. In making a bargain with him he said "he was as particular and exact in small sums as a merchant." This first observation on family concord appears to be just, and merits attention in the establishment of children for life. I know few large families in Philadelphia that have lived in constant harmony with each other.

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[54] Mr. Tate has not been further identified.

[55] John Joseph de Barth was associated in some capacity with the party of French immigrants (the Scioto Associates) who settled at Gallipolis, Ohio, in 1790. Early in 1791 he made an agreement with George Washington to purchase large tracts of the latter's lands on the Ohio river, below Marietta, Ohio, lying largely or wholly on the West Virginia side, and on the Great Kanawha river near its junction with the Ohio. De Barth was however unable to pay for the lands and the agreement was cancelled in April 1793 (*The Writings of George Washington*, edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick, Washington, vols. 31-33, 1939-40, *passim*).

[1791]

May 9. This morning died suddenly of an apoplexy Francis Hopkinson, Judge of the federal Court of Pennsylvania.[1] He was a man of various talents. He excelled in poetry and music, and had great taste, with some knowledge, in painting. His fort was humor and satyre, in which posterity will probably say he was not surpassed by Lucian, Swift, or Rabellais. These extraordinary powers of nature were generally consecrated to the purposes of patriotism and science. He possessed uncommon talents for pleasing in company. His wit was not of that coarse kind which sets "a table in a roar," but it was mild, delicate, and elegant, and infusing chearfulness rather than mirth in all who heard it. His religious principles were not known, but he was suspected of inclining to Deism. He shared largely in the friendship of Dr. Franklin. He was so agreeable and kind as a neighbour that he constantly created friends in every part of the city in which he resided. His domestic character was unsullied by any of the imperfections which sometimes cleave to genius. He was frugal, regular, faithful and kind in his family. In public life he was active and just, and the various causes which contributed to the establishment of the independance and the federal government of the United States will not be fully traced unless much is ascribed to the irresistable influence of the ridicule which he occasionally poured forth upon the enemies of those great political events.

On the evening of Mr. Hopkinson's death there was a great fire[2] in Dock Street which consumed fourteen frame buildings. It was the most splendid and awful sight I ever saw. Happily there was little wind, or much more mischief would have been done.

[Pages 115 to 130 of the ms. except p. 119, are devoted to a very detailed synopsis entitled "Heads of a lecture on the

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[1] Francis Hopkinson, 1737-1791, was in the Continental Congress from New Jersey, 1776-1777; he held various state and national offices during the war, and was judge of the admiralty in Pennsylvania, 1779-1789, U.S. district judge 1789. He was a talented harpsichordist; he led the choir and played the organ in Christ Church. He designed the American flag. His pen, as BR says, was cleverly used in the service of his country (DAB).

[2] Scharf-Westcott (I, 467) says this fire occurred on May 11. It began in a livery stable on Dock Street near Third.

Diseases of the Old and New Testaments." Page 119 follows.]

The Evils of War

Samuel II, Chap. 2, Verse 26.

1, It begets debt. 2, idleness. 3, drunkenness. 4, extravagance in dress. 5, dissipation. 6, quarreling, duelling, heavy taxes (the benefits of it center in contractors and speculators), insensibility to private distress, practical lying, debauchery follows a camp, sickness, decay of agriculture and population, favours tyranny by encreasing the power of prerogative in making appointments of Revenue officers.

"If he be not taken away the world will go after him and so the Romans will come to take away our Kingdom,"[3] intimating that he detached his disciples and followers by his doctrines from the practice of war.

[Page 131 of ms.]

A Thought on the ORIGIN of EVIL

As cold is the effect of the absence of heat, as darkness is the effect of the absence of light, as ignorance is the effect of the absence of knowledge, and as bodily pains and sickness, numerous, diversified and compounded as they are, arise from the absence of certain stimuli, so may not moral evil be nothing positive, but an absence only of moral good? Does not this relieve our Systems of divinity from the awful charge against God of having created, or of being the author of Sin? He only withdrew his moral omnipresence or energy from the wills of Devils and man, and sin followed. Free will was necessary to happiness. It was abused. It can be held only by God himself. Therefore Jehovah commits the happiness of his creatures to the will of his Son, who has, in preferring good, established happiness for all his creatures. Sin, like disease, is weakness. It is destroyed by power, or strength, as disease is by stimuli. Nothing is annihilated therefore in the destruction of sin. Good, in the form of power and love, fills its space. It is conveyed into the human mind by means of the holy Spirit. This Spirit expels nothing. It only restores strength to weakness and order to disorder, as stimuli cure weakness and convulsions in the human body.

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[3] John XI, 48, inaccurately quoted.

May 13. Breakfasted this morning with Mr. Jefferson, and read to him and Mr. Drinker[4] an account of the maple tree and sugar &c, and received some useful hints from each of them on the subject. Was charmed with Mr. Jefferson's conversation. It was full of instruction upon all subjects. He read several extracts from his Journal of his travels in France[5] to us which contained much useful information, among which were the following facts. Each olive tree yields twenty quarts of oil yearly and is twenty years coming to perfection. Luzerne, corn, and vines grow under it. An acre of olive orchard sells for 35/, or an English guinea. Luzerne, he said, was the most profitable article of culture. An acre yeilds five tons yearly. The willow is planted and cut for fire wood. The peach tree is better, as being more valuable from its fruit and of quicker growth. Languedoc, he said, was the richest soil in the world. The climate of France becomes dry at Lyons. He suspected there was constantly a [bank of clouds between the hot and cold latitudes which produced dark and wet weather in the middle latitudes. He added that a good climate was the richest natural gift of heaven to man].[6]

[pp. 133-134 have been torn out of the ms.]

[p. 135]

"A child belonging to an Arab in the most abject state of vice and poverty crowed, smiled, and stretched out its hands &c." Vol. 5, p. 340.[7]

After his arrival at Assouan, seated under the shade of a palm tree, from the Deserts of Arabia (400 miles) and escaping immense dangers, he says a dullness and insensibility, an universal relaxation of spirits, a stupor or kind of palsy had overtaken [him] almost to a deprivation of understanding. "I found in myself a kind of stupidity and a want of power to reflect on what had passed. I seemed to be as if awakened from a dream, when the senses are yet half asleep, and we only begin to doubt whether what has passed in our thoughts is real or not. The dangers which I was just now delivered from made no impression on my mind, and what more and more convinces me that I was not in my perfect senses, is that I found in myself a *hard-heartedness* without the least inclination to be thankful for that signal deliverance which I had just experienced."

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[4] Henry Drinker, 1734-1809, was a prosperous Quaker importer and ship-owner, partner of Abel James. He was one of the seventeen Quakers arrested and exiled to Virginia in 1777 because of non-participation in the war (Cecil K. Drinker, *Not So Long Ago*, New York, 1937). See BR's characterization of him, p. 316.

[5] This was Jefferson's *Memorandum Taken on a Journey from Paris into the Southern Parts of France, and Northern Italy, in the Year 1787*. It is printed in the Lipscomb and Bergh edition of Jefferson's *Writings*, New York, 1903, XVII, 153-236.

[6] The words in brackets were on p. 133 of the ms., which has been torn out. They can be supplied, however, because this is one of the passages from which BR made extracts in *Travels Through Life* to illustrate his method of recording facts (see pp. 92-93).

[7] The excerpts are from the celebrated work by James Bruce of Kinnaird, explorer in Abyssinia, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, first published in 5 volumes at Edinburgh in 1790. BR, who was thus one of its early readers, used an inferior 6-volume edition published at Dublin, 1790. A set in the Ridgway Library, autographed by James Rush in 1813, was almost certainly BR's. The volume and page citations given by BR are from the Dublin edition.

"Innumerable quantities of Buzzards, Eagles, &c follow armies in Abissinia &c to feed on the dead after a battle. They extended almost beyond sight" (See Winchester on the prophecies, and our Saviour's indications of the events that were to attend his coming).[8]

"The Kol-quall used for tanning leather, a violently caustic tree." Vol. 6, page 54.

"The Abissinians are subject to a disease from Ascarides every month. It is supposed to be occasioned by eating raw meat, and is cured by an infusion of an herb called cusso. The Christians only subject to it who eat raw meat, the Mahomitans *not*." Vol. 6, p. 97.

"The Elephant and Rhinoceros roll themselves in mud to defend themselves from the Egyptian fly on the fat lands. The Rhinoceros and the Unicorn the same animal." Vol. 6, p. 120.

"The number of men who perish in Abissinia in battle and by disease bring together such a number of birds of prey, that it would seem there was not such a number on the whole earth. They follow the camp. Indeed they seem another camp around it, for besides those which ventured among the tents, I have seen the fields covered on every side as far as the eyes could reach, and the branches of trees ready to break down under the pressure of their weight." Vol. 6, p. 184. (See Winchester on the prophecies on this subject.)

"Again, he says, there is no giving the reader any idea of their numbers, unless by comparing them to the sands of the sea. While the army is in motion, they are a black canopy which extends over it for leagues. When encamped the ground is discoloured with them beyond the sight of the eye. All these are carrion birds such as vulture, kite and raven, to which nature has refused both the inclination and the power of feeding upon living subjects." Vol. 6, p. 198.

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[8] Elhanan Winchester (see p. 164, note 14), *A Course of Lectures on the Prophecies that Remain to be Fulfilled*, London, 3 vols., 1789-1790. A passage on pp. 304-307 discusses biblical prophecies about vultures destroying the armies of the Lord's enemies.

He put two Jerboas, on which the Cerastes or horned viper feeds, into a glass jar in which they lived two years without food or sleep. Vol. 6.

The Camel called the Ship of the Desert. He feeds on the driest thistle and barest thorn, and even eats as he travels. Lays in its water for 30 days, which he throws up at his pleasure to moisten his dry food. He carries, Mr. Jefferson says, 600 weight, an ass 400, a horse 200. Mr. Bruce opened a Camel that died in Arabia and took 4 gallons of bluish water from his maw which he drank and which he says was pleasant.

"The Law first written in Oegyptian characters, afterward with Oethiopic letters, or the letters of a Signet." Exod. 28 and 21.

The value of gold brought from Ophir by David for the temple was eight hundred millions of pounds sterling. Vol. IV, p. 66.

"One hundred hands employed at a loom will bring more riches into a country than 10,000 bearing spears and shields." Vol. 2, p. 3.

Long lived people who fed *only* on the flesh of Elephants &c died in the Sun. Vol. 2, p. 89.

Found the prophesy of Enouch, just as it is quoted by Jude. Vol. 2, p. 135.

Arabic—not more vocables than English language, only Epithets called vocables. Vol. 2, p. 163.

"When I hear people praising the Koran for the purity of the stile, it reminds me of the man in the comedy who made his son read Greek to him though he did not understand it. He said that the mumbling of the sound pleased him." Vol. 2, p. 164.

He found many dead bodies in the wilderness, hardened with the Sun; no worms or flies to eat them.

"The Kantuffa, a thorn like many men we meet daily in Society, has got itself into a degree of reputation and respect from the noxious qualities and power of doing ill which it possesses." Vol. 6, p. 60.

May 30. The Revd. Dr. Witherspoon aged 69 years married to Mrs. Dill[9] aged 23. June 4th I met Mr. Jno. Woodward,[10] who boarded in the same house with Mrs. Dill, and who was invited to the wedding. He said "that the Doctor was grave, Mrs. Dill tried to be chearful; that he felt the whole evening as if he was witnessing the chaining of a living to a dead body, and that the next day when they went away, he felt as if a funeral had gone out of the house."

Col. Miles informed me that he had lately been at Mount Vernon, where Major Washington[11] informed him that his Uncle, Genl. Washington, had for many years kept an exact diary of everything that went forward on his farm, even to the birth of every calf and lamb belonging to his herds and flocks. His nephew kept up this diary and sent it every week to the General.

June 10. This morning died Mrs. Byron,[12] the wife of Joshua Byron, an English merchant. Her disorder was a consumption. She was a woman of an excellent understanding and agreeable manners, and during her illness embraced the gospel in its spirit and power. Two weeks before she died she put a twig of an herb into my hand and said "Here, Doctor, here is something very precious for you. It is time." Three nights before she died, I asked her how she was. She answered very calmly "Going home." Two nights before she died she said that "her sufferings from her disorder were nothing compared with what her Saviour endured for her."

A Thought on MONARCHY & ARISTOCRACY

They corrupt all the powers of the mind:

1. The *understanding* with ideas of divine right, indefeasable right, passive obedience, nonresistance, curing the King's evil, their necessity

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[9] Widow of Dr. Armstrong Dill of York County, a former student of Witherspoon's at Princeton (Varnum Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon, a Biography*, Princeton, 1925), and apprentice of BR in 1780 (Ms. List of Apprentices).

Rev. Ashbel Green, who took tea with the couple in July 1791, wrote "I had heard her represented as very handsome. She is comely, but to my apprehension, nothing more" (the autobiographic *Life of Ashbel Green*, New York, 1849).

[10] There was at this time a John Woodward, shopkeeper, at 93 High (Market) Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791).

[11] Major George Augustine Washington, son of George Washington's brother Charles, was general manager of Mount Vernon 1785-1792. For Washington's farm records see P. L. Haworth, *George Washington, Country Gentleman*, Indianapolis, 1925.

[12] Joshua Byron had a wholesale dry goods store in Second Street (advertisement in *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 9, 1790).

to government, also of wars &c, false ideas of their wisdom &c—King can do no wrong—never dies—blood royal—nobles—confined marriages.

2. The *Affections.* All are absorbed by kings and nobles. Country is neglected or forgotten. Bruce in his travels speaks only of George the 3rd, never of his countrymen. See Stewart's account of the Turks, 171.[13]

3. *Manners.* Produces absolute power or despotism in Schools and families. Both have lessened in America since the year 1776. Inverts the order of domestic government by exalting women at the expense of men as in France, or by degrading them as in Turkey. In monarchies they are exalted, upon the same principle that the common people were liberated by the kings of Europe to destroy the excessive powers of the nobles; that is, to keep down their husbands, just as nurses are corrupted through the means of children.

4. *Morals.* Courts create servility, insincerity, idleness, vice of every kind, particularly seduction.

5. *Language*, as we—you—and they, instead of I—thou—&c.

In short, monarchy is a public and a practical Lye. Republicanism is the reverse of this. Where representation is equal, no factions. They arise from unequal representation, and produce their effects like the unequal loading of a ship or circulation of the blood. Justice must produce happiness and order.

Titles which belong to monarchy and aristocracy are like ear rings and nose jewels among Indians. That kind of government is spurious, dramatic, and artificial, no Reality belonging to it. Daniel's dreams compares monarchy to four beasts very justly.[14]

Republics stronger than monarchies. A Republican fights for himself and a whole community, is therefore under the influence of selfish and public affections, a current double and durable as the Mediterranean. The Royalist fights only for his master and such a portion of glory as he will give him. Attachment to such a cause weak—confessed by kings—hence soldiers bound to them by oaths.

History of the progress of Republicanism in America—English Constitution a medley, a contradiction, a neutral mixture, opposite principles.

Monarchy a leprosy of the mind, hence arises the necessity of generations and even ages to wear it away.

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[13] The reference is to BR's conversations with John Stewart, pp. 209-212 below.

[14] Daniel VIII, 8, 22.

Objections answered: stability. Instance in Connecticut government in certain families, factions. Elections shake the public mind, improve the understanding, from influence of Passions on the understanding, promote longevity.

The influence of Republicanism in promoting benevolence exemplified in the universality of toasts of all republican feasts. "A Great Revolution" (formerly antigallican toast), "Confusion &c to Enemies" were common toasts. Kings unnatural, hence imposed by oaths, garters, guards, picture on coins &c.

Bad hand writing fashionable from being common among noblemen, who are unable to be taught better.

Oath of allegiance and all its perjuries invented by kings. Splendor or expense in rulers to be compared to battles, which are seen through a magnifier.

Lords and kings said to protect from each other. As well might bears and wolves do the same. Best destroy both. Let the greatest be the servant of all (St. Paul).[15]

Even Royal Diseases are fashionable. Story of Louis XIV by Dionis, fistula in ano.[16]

The wickedness of primogeniture &c arises from monarchy and aristocracy.

Nephritic complaints in the Court of Spain from long standing &c.

Shall we because people call for ardent spirits in harvest gratify them? No, pay more wages and the work will be better done.

Absurdity of *Royal* to Societies &c, especially Humane Society.

Monopoly of pictures, discoveries in natural history, books &c by kings. Story of Alexander and Aristotle about a book.[17]

Nobility. Might as well have licensed *bad* houses. Descendants idle, lands and lots uncultivated; not so where estates are divided. Norris's and Bingham's garden demolished and planted the same day.[18]

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[15] Not St. Paul, but Matthew xx, 27; xxiii, 11 and Mark x, 44.

[16] "Dionis tells us in his surgery, that after he had cut Lewis XIV for a fistula in ano, he was called upon by a great number of the nobility of France to examine whether they had not the same loathsome disorder, and he adds that they always appeared to be offended when he informed them that they were not affected with it" (BR in *Sixteen Introductory Lectures*, Philadelphia, 1811, lecture iii; cf. Pierre Dionis, *Cours d'Operations de Chirurgie*, Paris, 1707; BR no doubt used the English translation of 1710 or 1733).

[17] The story, told by Plutarch, is that Alexander reprimanded Aristotle for publishing certain books, "for what is there now that we excel others in, if those things which we have been particularly instructed in be laid open to all?"

[18] The meaning of this remark is unknown. Isaac Norris had a fine garden at his country house, "Fairhill," in pre-Revolutionary days. His son Charles Norris had

Mechanics, Physicians and Clergy excluded from politicks, i.e. Democratic politicks by Aristotle.

The Effects of the Funding System[19]

1. It robbed the soldier and the original holder of his property and gave it to men who had neither earned nor deserved it, particularly to tories.

2. It drew many hundred or perhaps several thousand people from their former pursuits to dealing in certificates.

3. It produced insolence and oppression in those persons who had suddenly made fortunes by them. Some persons made from 100,000 to 500,000 dollars by their speculations.

4. It reduced the value of real property from one half to three fourths.

5. It checked improvements in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures by drawing the capital of the country into speculation.

6. It produced cruelty in creditors to debtors for the purpose of investing money in the funds (Dr. McIlvaine[20] and Dr. Ruston).

7. It produced delinquency in just payments in persons of large capitals, who employed those capitals in speculations.

8. It checked agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

This law was passed by men who had bought certificates. Sherman and Boudinot were speculators. Grout told Stone[21] that the New England delegates bought certificates with their pay. See page 149.[22]

June 23. This day died Dr. John Jones, aged 57. He had been indisposed only four days with an inflammatory fever, for which he

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an elegant garden about his city house, Chestnut Street between 4th and 5th (Thompson Westcott, *Historic Mansions of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1877). The William Binghams had an elaborate garden of 3 acres about their magnificent house on Spruce Street at 3rd, as well as a beautiful country garden at "Lansdowne" (R. W. Griswold, *The Republican Court, American Society in the Days of Washington*, New York, 1854).

[19] See Appendix 2 for the background of this disquisition on the funding of the U.S. war debt.

[20] William McIlvaine, 1750-1806, born at Philadelphia, took his M.D. at Edinburgh in 1771. He practised at Bristol, Pa., until 1785, then at Philadelphia until after the epidemic of 1793, when he moved to Burlington, N.J. (Stephen Wickes, *History of Medicine in New Jersey*, Newark, N. J., 1879).

See p. 237 for another remark about Ruston in this connection.

[21] Jonathan Grout, 1737-1807, member of Congress from Massachusetts, 1789-1791. Michael Jennifer Stone, 1747-1812, member of Congress from Maryland, 1789-1791 (*Biog. Directory U.S. Congress*).

[22] Page 149 of the ms. is missing.

imprudently took 7 grains of opium to procure sleep, and which it was generally thought occasioned his death. He was much lamented by his friends and patients, as well as by his brother physicians. His manners were gentle and amiable, and his conduct truly liberal in his profession. He was without a rival in Surgery in the United States. His education was extensive and he spoke agreeably upon all subjects. He lived and died a Batchelor. He was supposed to be deistical in his principles.

Hints for the Life of Nurse Mary Waters[23]

Why not? Her occupation was a noble one, and her example may be interesting to thousands. Only few men can be Kings, and yet Biography for a while had few other subjects. She was born in Dublin . . . . . ., came to America in the ship . . . ., Capt. . . . . in the year 1766. She served during the whole war in the military hospitals, where she was esteemed and beloved by all who knew her. She has been a nurse ever since. She possesses a good deal of skill and an uncommon regard to cleanliness. I never saw her out of humor. She is chatty and tells a merry story very agreeably. She dislikes nursing lying-in women, as well as all such persons as are not very ill. Nothing but great danger rouses her into great activity and humanity. She once left off nursing, but was induced to undertake it again by the advice of her minister, the late Revd. Mr. Farmer,[24] who told her "that her skill in nursing was a commission sent to her by heaven, which she was bound never to resign, and that she might merit heaven by it." She was minutely acquainted with the characters, manners, habits &c of all the physicians in town, and always shewed a disposition to support their influence in medicine. She was once sent for to prescribe for a lady in a consumption, for her skill was known to many people. Before she went, she found out whose patient this lady was, and upon being complimented by her when she entered the room she said "Indeed, madam, I know nothing but what I learned from Dr. — (mentioning the name of the physician who attended her) in the military hospitals. This at once put an end to all further application on the part of the lady, and renewed her confidence in her physician. She was truly charitable. I once knew her lend money to a patient whom she nursed, and to the family in which she lodged.

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[23] She is listed in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1796 as Mary Waters, widow, doctoress, Willing's Alley; in 1797 as apothecary, and in 1798 and 1799 as "doctress," at the same address. It is a pity BR did not write his projected account of her life; the story of a woman nurse in the Revolutionary war would have been a unique document in the history of nursing.

[24] Ferdinand Farmer (1720-1786), prominent Jesuit missionary, was attached to St. Joseph's Church in Philadelphia. He was a man of learning, popular with all classes and was a member of the American Philosophical Society (DAB).

July 25. Met about a dozen free Blacks at Wm. Wilcher's[25] in New Street and read to them sundry articles of faith and a plan of church government which I had composed for them. They appeared well satisfied with it, and agreed to deliberate upon it previously to its being adopted and laid before the public. Robt. Ralston[26] attended the meeting with me.

August 1. Dr. White[27] stopped me this evening and in very strong terms expressed his disapprobation to the proposed African church. He said it originated in pride, and that he would here after attend none of their funerals. Absolom Jones and Wm. Whites[28] (two Blacks) called on me soon afterwards and said the Quakers were much displeased with them. The objections from both these quarters satisfied me more than ever of the necessity of an African church and of the advantages to be expected from it. I conceive it will collect many hundred Blacks together on Sundays who now spend that day in idleness. It may be followed by churches upon a similar plan in other States, and who knows but it may be the means of sending the gospel to Africa, as the American Revolution sent liberty to Europe?

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[25] William Wilcher was a Negro resident of Philadelphia and is mentioned by Richard Allen (*Life and Labors*) as one of the leading members of the committee that located a site for the new church.

[26] Robert Ralston, 1761-1836, married Sarah Clarkson, a sister of Gerardus Clarkson and Mrs. Samuel Finley. He was a merchant, an active Presbyterian layman, a trustee of Princeton College (1815-1819), and a generous supporter of philanthropic activities (*Address at the Interment of Robert Ralston*, by Rev. Ashbel Green, Philadelphia, 1836). According to Richard Allen, he acted as treasurer of the fund for the Negro church, subscribed largely himself and was generally helpful.

[27] William White, rector of Christ Church and Episcopal bishop of Pennsylvania (see p. 168, note 21).

[28] Absalom Jones, 1746-1818, born a slave in Delaware, was one of the Negroes of Philadelphia who gave heroic service in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. He was commended by Matthew Carey in his *Short Account of the Yellow Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia*, 1793. See also Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People during the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia in 1793*, Philadelphia, 1794. When the movement for a separate Negro church began, Jones led some of his people into the Protestant Episcopal Church of which he became the first Negro priest, while Allen took others into the African Methodist fold (*Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VIII, 414). In 1804 he lived at 42 Chestnut Street and conducted a school at St. Thomas's Church (notices in Poulson's *Daily Advertiser*). He also founded and operated an insurance company.

William White is mentioned by Richard Allen (*Life, Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen*, Philadelphia, 1833) as one of his helpers in organizing the new African Church.

Then perhaps the Africans in America may say to those who brought them here as slaves, what Joseph said to his brethren when they condemned themselves for selling him into Egypt.[29]

August 10. The city of Philadelphia for several days has exhibited the marks of a great gaming house. At every corner you hear citizens talking of nothing but Script, 6 per cent, 3 per cent, deferred debt, &c.[30] A young Broker (Mr. Seber)[31] from New York, who had made 10,000 dollars, lost his reason. I attended him with Dr. Barton[32] at the City tavern. Major McConnell[33] (his wife told me) had made between 30,000 and 40,000 dollars in one month by buying and selling Script. The great speculators became talkative and communicative or dull, sullen, silent, and peevish. Genl. Stewart,[34] who had just begun to deal in Script, said he could not sleep at nights. Never did I see so universal a frenzy. Nothing else was spoken of but Script in all companies, even by those who were not interested in it.

August 11, Thursday. The Script mania has encreased. Merchants, grocers, shop keepers, clerks, prentice boys, and even a sea captain, all forsook their usual employments to speculate in Script. Two Brokers, Major Franks and a Mr. Anderson,[35] said they had made between 2 and 3000 dollars before one o'clock. A prentice boy of Capt. McConnel's[36] made £300 last week. I sold two shares for 450 dollars at 8 o'clock in the morning, and at night they sold for 315 and 320 dollars a share.

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[29] "Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life." Genesis XLV, 5.

[30] For the explanation of "script," and of the other terms which refer to the various classes of government securities put out in funding the federal and state debt, see Appendix 2.

[31] Letters of administration of the estate of James F. Sebor were granted to Jacob Sebor, administrator, Aug. 19, 1791 (Registry of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall).

[32] Benjamin Smith Barton, 1766-1815, physician and naturalist of international reputation, at this time professor of botany in the University of Pennsylvania (DAB). He was a nephew of David Rittenhouse. Barton succeeded to the chair of medicine upon BR's death in 1813.

[33] Matthew McConnell, 1748-1816, broker, was first president of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, 1790. His wife was BR's cousin Ruth Hall. (Pleasants ms. notes.)

[34] Walter Stewart, 1756-1796, brigadier general in the Revolutionary army, afterwards merchant in Philadelphia (Appleton, *Cycl. Am. Biog.*).

[35] The identity and relationships of the members of the Franks family mentioned by BR in the present documents are not clear. This Major Franks was probably the Isaac F., born in 1759, who served under Washington in the battle of Long Island. After the Revolution he lived in Germantown (Morris Jastrow, "The Career of Col. Isaac Franks," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, 1896, V; Leon Hühner, *ibid.*, 1902, X). Isaac Franks was listed as broker, 30 High Street, in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791. BR was in partnership with him in speculation in Western Pennsylvania lands in the 1780's (Rush mss.).

Mr. Anderson was possibly Alexander Anderson, merchant, 51 No. Third Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791).

[36] "Capt. McConnel" was no doubt Major Matthew McConnell.

August 12, Friday. Was passed soon in the morning by a speculator (a friend of mine) who did not speak to me. I suspected he was in trouble. Soon afterwards I heard that Script had fallen to 150 dollars. It fell chiefly in the hands of merchants, grocers &c. The Brokers were pretty clear of them. Many hundred villanous transactions came to light this morning. Long faces appeared in every street. Many checks were given on the Bank by persons who had no money there to satisfy them. An attempt was made to stop the payment of a check for 4000 dollars at the Bank but too late. It was paid, to the great mortification and disgrace of the person who drew it. Gen. S[tewart?], it was said, had so much Script on hand, that he came to the Secretary of the Treasury and wept, and said he should be ruined if they did not rise. I met Mr. Fitzsimons this evening, who had been active in establishing the funding System and Bank, and asked him "whether the vices they had introduced into our country had not made our liberties and independance too dear a purchase."

August 13. Script still at 150 dollars. Major F[ranks?] was with me. He says he has 10,000 dollars due to him on notes and that the fear of loosing it had affected his health. He had no appetite, had a pain in his breast, and started up when half a sleep, his pulse was weak and quick. He told me that the fall of Script was occasioned by the Bank of New York not being able to discount any more. That the citizens of New York would loose three millions of dollars by the bursting of the bubble. That they had aimed to remove the Bank to New York by owning a plurality of shares. I told him that I had observed the following persons to look grave or to walk slow in the streets: Genl. Stewart, Chas. Pettit, Jno. Olden, young Budd, and Jno. Vaughan.[37] He said they were all sufferers by the fall of Script. He left me in great distress, and said very feelingly "I wish I was as happy and easy in my mind as you are."

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[37] Charles Pettit, 1736-1806, patriot and financier, was the author of the Pennsylvania funding system in 1788 (DAB). He had a reputation for sound judgment in fiscal affairs.

John Oldden, merchant, 75 High Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791).

"Young Budd" was possibly Benjamin S. Budd, 1769-1833, of Mount Holly, N.J., who was studying medicine in Philadelphia at that time (Stephen Wickes, *History of Medicine in New Jersey*, Newark, N.J., 1879). Dr. William Budd, 1775-1806, a second cousin of BR's wife, was probably too young to be speculating at this time.

John Vaughan, 1756-1841, settled in Philadelphia about 1790. He was a merchant, but he made an avocational career of service to the American Philosophical Society, of which he was secretary for 65 years, and a most active librarian from 1802 to 1841.

J. F—,[38] a Broker had bought of Mr. Cramond[39] 8 shares of Script at 250. The next morning he (J. F.) called on him before breakfast and told him that he would release him from his bargain for 400 dollars, which Mr. C. gave him. He afterwards called on Robt. Smith[40] and offered him 50 shares for 280 dollars which he had bought of him on credit the day before for 250. Mr. Smith gave him up his note and 1500 above it. He said J. F. had heard of an Express in 12 hours from New York that Script had fallen in New York to 150 dollars a share. The price of an express was from 20 to £30.0.0 and find their own horses &c on the way. Such was the progress of the madness that several farmers who had heard how suddenly fortunes were to be made in Philadelphia left their ploughs and carts and came up to Philadelphia to deal in Script. Fortunately it fell the day of their arrival.

It was easy to tell who had Script on hand after it fell. All such persons said it would rise, and industriously circulated stories of its rising in New York.

August 15. This day heard that Script in New York was 67, and 6 per cents only 19/ in the pound.

The most distressed men were said to be those who had not availed themselves of the height of the market and sold their Script, or who had sold too soon.

August 18. Mr. Seber constantly refused to take his medicine, 'till he first asked "On what terms" and when he swallowed his medicine would cry out "A good bargain." He died this afternoon.

An old negro woman who sold corn in the market cried out the day after the Script fell "Hotte corn, hotte corn, hotte corn for krip."

Mr. Swanwick[41] offered Major Moore[42] 300 Scripts for 300 dollars each on the evening before they fell. The Major offered him 290. This S. refused. The next morning, after S. heard of their fall to 150 he called and breakfasted with Major Moore and offered him the Script for 290 each. The Major begged for an hour to consider it. S. objected to it. Then, said the Major, no, by which means he saved his estate and family from ruin.

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[38] "J. F." can equally well be read I. F., and may refer to Isaac Franks.

[39] The Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791 listed James and William Cramond, merchants.

[40] Robert Smith was probably the merchant of that name, at 26 South Front Street (see p. 259, note 53); there were two others of the same name in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791.

[41] Presumably John Swanwick, 1740-1798, merchant of Philadelphia; later member of Congress, 1795-1798. (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*)

[42] In a letter to his wife Sept. 22, 1793 (*Old Family Letters Relating to Yellow Fever*, Philadelphia, 1892) BR wrote "Major James Moore, my universal friend, died this day." Matthew Carey, in the mortality table in his *Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately Prevalent in Philadelphia*, 1793, lists Major James Moore,

It appears from letters from Boston that the Script mania was at as great a height in that city on the 11th of the month as in Philadelphia.

Many thousand shares were bought and sold, to be delivered and paid for at a future day by persons who had neither Script, nor money.

Lyons, a Jew Broker,[43] sent an Express to Reading to Col. Heister[44] on purpose to buy 30 Scripts which he knew he held, but to deceive him he wrote to him not to sell his Certificates, for that they had rose above par, and would be higher. The express artfully brought in the subject of Bank Script without hinting that they had risen above 50, and bought the whole of them for 600 dollars.

Young Mr. Chamberlain[45] in coming from Princeton to Philadelphia on the 11th met six expresses on their way to New York. Nothing was talked of but Script in the stage. A young man who talked most about it got the nick name of *Script.*

Saw Col. Sherbourne[46] of Rhode Island this day at Mrs. Vandeerin's[47] who told me that Revd. Dr. Manning[48] "had died of his knife and fork," that is of eating too much. He was very temperate in drinking. His death was occasioned by an apoplexy, two weeks after dining most plentifully with the Cincinnati[49] on the 4th of July.

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livery stable keeper. James Moore was major in the 1st Pennsylvania regiment in 1777. After the war he became a druggist (J. H. Campbell, *History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and the Hibernian Society*, Philadelphia, 1892).

[43] Solomon Lyons, broker, 109 Sassafras Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791).

[44] Daniel Hiester, 1747-1804, colonel and brigadier general of militia in the Revolutionary war; in Congress from Pennsylvania 1789-1796 and from Maryland 1801-1804 (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*).

[45] Mr. Chamberlain has not been further identified.

[46] Henry Sherbourne, ca.1747-1824, of Newport, R.I., an officer in the Revolutionary army, was known as Colonel S. (J. N. Arnold, *Vital Records of Rhode Island*, XIV, 1905).

[47] Mrs. Susanna Vanderin kept a boarding house at 37 North Fourth Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791).

[48] James Manning, 1738-1791, Baptist minister, educator, and statesman, a founder of Brown University. His stroke was hardly due directly to the dinner; it occurred July 24, while he was leading family prayers (DAB).

[49] i.e. the Order of the Cincinnati, the Revolutionary officers' society.

August 21. By the efforts of Brokers, Script rose to 200 dollars, but this day (August 23rd) it fell to 140 dollars. New York regulated the price.

This day Dr. Beach,[50] a sensible and thinking man from Connecticut, dined with me. He informed me that Dr. Beardsly[51] two days before he died said "If ever you see Dr. Rush I beg you would give my dying love to him."

EXTRACTS from *Volney's Travels*[52]

In Egypt sweating is so essential to health, that the phrase "How do you do" should be "How do you sweat." p. 41.

In Egypt it is necessary to renew the seeds of annual plants every year. If the seed of the plant which produces it is sown, it degenerates by running up tall and weak. [p. 44].

In the Arabic language there are 7 or 8 consonants and three vowels which are not to be met with in European languages. A general alphabet much wanted. p. 55.

Earthquakes seldom happen but in winter after the autumnal rains. p. 189.

He sweated less at Yafa [Jaffa] on the borders of the sea, than at Ramla [Ramleh], three leagues from the sea, owing to the humidity of the air at Yafa exciting perspiration so slowly, while at Ramla where the air is dry it excites it quicker. Hence the reason why the breath is visible in winter and not in summer. p. 216.

He did not see persons deformed or crooked in Syria or Egypt. They do no violence to the body by dress. p. 223.

The nakedness of the country in Syria contributes to its sterility, for being more easily heated by the Sun, the Clouds are elevated by it and carried to other countries. Planting trees, especially pines he thinks would correct this and bring down rain. The monks of Makr Hanna in Syria have discovered since the heights near their convent have been covered with pine trees the waters of several springs have become more abundant and healthy. p. 372.

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[50] Elnathan Beach, 1760-1801, of Cheshire, Conn., said to have been an intelligent and competent physician. He was in the Connecticut legislature in 1795; moved to Marcellus, N. Y., in 1796 (George Blumer, "Some Remarks on 'Cases and Observations, By the Medical Society of New Haven County,'" *Connecticut Med. Jour.*, 1942, v, 652).

[51] Hezekiah Beardsley, 1748-1790, a physician of Connecticut, lived in New Haven after 1788. He is remembered for his pioneer description of hyperplastic stenosis of the pylorus (Kelly-Burrage).

[52] *Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie*, by Constantin François Chasseboeuf, Comte de Volney, Paris, 1787, 2 vols. The page references given by BR are to the English translation, edition of Dublin, 1788.

For a meeting between BR and Volney, see p. 241 below.

"The Bedouins in Syria are small. They live on six ounces of aliment a day, consisting of six or seven dates soaked in melted butter and a little sweet milk or curds. They are rather active than vigorous. They have small evacuations, and their blood is so destitute of serosity that nothing but the greatest heat can preserve its fluidity. They are, however, healthy." [p. 242].
[About 5 lines torn from ms.] . . . By long fasting their breath becomes offensive. They travel slow, not exceeding 34 or 3600 yards in an hour. [p. 508, referring to camels].

They use a cement which was no doubt used by the Greeks and Romans. It is composed of lime when boiling, sand, and brick dust, of each equal parts. p. 518.

They are slow motioned and slow in speech &c. like the Indians. p. 533.

August 25. Visited Mr. Rittenhouse this day. He told me that he once heard Dr. Franklin say that "if he were to make a religion he would admit no repentance or pardon in it." I remarked that the idea confirmed the Christian religion, which admitted of neither without an atonement.

[About 5 lines torn from ms.][53] . . . Warren was killed at Bunker Hill. "He was dear to his countrymen, said he, and his death will rouse them against Great Britain. The more such persons we loose for a while the better." Jno. Adam's intercepted letter proves how early he contemplated and embraced the idea of independance.

October 6. Was introduced by Dr. Wistar[54] to Robt. Nesbitt, a public friend[55] from Massachusetts 50 miles from the town of Hudson.

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[53] The speaker quoted in this fragment was doubtless Patrick Henry; see a similar remark, p. 111.

The intercepted letter of John Adams is also mentioned on p. 142.

[54] Caspar Wistar, M.D., 1761-1818, at this time professor of chemistry and physiology in the College of Philadelphia, afterward (1808) professor of anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania (DAB).

[55] A "public Friend" was one prominent in the Quaker ministry and usually a person who travelled widely in itinerant preaching and family visiting (Rufus M. Jones, personal communication). Robert Nesbitt, born in England, arrived in Boston

He had been educated a Presbyterian and became a Quaker 15 years ago. He informed me that he conceived a desire to see me some years ago after reading an essay by me against the lawfulness of punishing murder by death.[56] He said he thought with me on that subject and that the sentiment was spreading in his parts. He advised me to continue writing for the good of mankind, and to aim at being kept humble. He held affirmations as well as oaths to be unlawful, and he had been led, he said, to believe it wrong to wear coloured, or dyed cloathes. He reprobated Predestination and reprobation and universal salvation as twin sisters. We parted under an engagement to correspond.

October 7. This evening visited a Mr. Stewart,[57] a native of London aged 43 who had spent the last 20 years of his life in travelling all over the world. He appears to be a man of strong powers, of great eloquence, much observation; but to have started without fixed principles upon any subject. He formerly lived on animal and vegetable food alternately, viz., animal in winter and vegetable in summer, beginning on the 1st of May, after which time he had the best health and never dreamed. He now lives wholly on two pounds of unleavened bread, with half a pound of cheese, or four apples, alternately every day. He drinks nothing but water. He sleeps from 11 o'clock at night 'till 5 in the morning, when he throws off his bed cloaths and exposes his naked body to the air a few minutes to recover himself from the langour brought on by sleep, before he gets out of bed. He never dreams, has stools only once in four or five days, enjoys high health and spirits, having had no sickness for many years, except once a fever from eating too many grapes. His eye sight is perfect and pulse soft and regular. He sleeps on his sides. His passions he says are equable and his appetite for women so weak that he has lived 14 months without a connection with the sex. In his travels he said he avoided courts and cities and conversed chiefly with farmers. Cities, he said, were wens on the body politic. The Turks, he said, were a poor depressed sett of beings. A Turk lived only to

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in 1765. He was noted, even among the Quakers, for his pious simplicity of character and plainness of garb. He was in Philadelphia at this time to attend the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (*The Friend*, Philadelphia, 1834, vol. 7, 390).

[56] *Considerations on the Injustice and Impolicy of Punishing Murder by Death, Extracted from the American Museum with Additions*, Philadelphia, 1792.

[57] Details of the life of the adventurous and eccentric world traveller John Stewart, 1749-1822, of London ("Walking Stewart") are given in the DNB.

himself and to the present moment. He lived and cared for nobody, and if £100 were offered him to day and £700 tomorrow, he would prefer the former from his indifference or uncertainty as to the next day. He said that the mind of man contained immense powers in a dormant state, and that his pursuit was to find them out by conversing with men of all countries and descriptions. Habit, education and learning, he said, had depressed the human powers. By education he did not mean the letters and sounds such as Latin and Greek taught at School, but the collision of man with man by conversation. The laborious pursuits of man, he said, depressed his intellect and reduced him to mere matter. A Buckle maker in time, he said, became a Buckle, and a Button maker a Button. Men were hardy in proportion to their want of understanding. Hence, he said, Idiots and madmen eat and drank any thing and never caught cold.

October 8. This morning Mr. Stewart breakfasted with me. He spoke with horror of the religion of the Gentoo [Hindu] nation which admitted of women burning themselves on the same funeral pile with their husbands. This he says is the master error of the world. He saw one of these sights, and saw other Gentoos suspended by hooks in their flesh and swing for a great while in the air, by order of their priests. The sufferers bear these things without complaining. He thinks their vegetable diet calms down their feelings and prevents emotions. The religion of the Gentoos consists, he says, wholly in ceremonies. They comb their heads and put on their cloaths as a part of their religion. Morality is no part of their religion. They have neither probity, nor benevolence. Their only charity is the 1/80 of a farthing, which will purchase nothing. He said he had once sailed with some Mahomitan pilgrims who confined him to a poor lodging outside of the ship because he did not think with them in religion.

He described the lives and manners of the Laplanders very accurately, and ridiculed the base arts of the Swedish and Russian clergy to convert them. He ascribed their half savage manners to their mode of life. They lived apart necessarily, for each family required 600 or 700 acres of land for their Reindeer, 50 of whom belonged to a farm and family. These deer lived on moss in winter, which when once discovered under the snow by the Laplander was easily followed by the deer.

He said he had been called Eccentric. "But while the centre of ordinary conduct was Error, he wished to be in a state of eccentricity from it for ever."

At 11 o'clock waited upon a deputation of friends to see the minister of France, Genl. Ternant.[58] He received them very kindly. They spoke of the progress of reason and liberty in France and of a small Society of friends in France. The friends who visited Mr. Ternant were Jno. and James Pemberton, Owen Jones, Jno. Field, Nichs. Waln, Saml. Emblen, Thos. West, Robt. Nesbitt, and Henry Clifton (the last from New Jersey).[59]

Drank tea this afternoon with Mr. Stewart at Dr. Wistar's. He spoke feelingly in praise of liberty, and reprobated the tax on spiritous liquors in America for the support of government, which he said kept up their use. He also reprobated lotteries in strong terms. He said that while in the latitude of 68° in Sweden in July, he had fine equal spirits which he ascribed to the constant action of light on his system. In the morning he said "he wished to find out a moral centre."[60] I said that the Divines had said that the Supreme Being was that centre. "I believe (said he) nothing that a divine says, for few of them believe themselves." He said "the Americans had knowledge, but that they wanted wisdom. The first was speculative, the last was practical and regulated conduct."

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[58] Jean, Chevalier de Ternant, 1740-1816, who had been one of the French volunteers in the Revolutionary army, was now in the U. S. once more as minister plenipotentiary of France, a post which he held from March 1791 to May 1793.

[59] John Pemberton, 1727-1795, a Quaker minister, was brother of James Pemberton (DAB).

Owen Jones, 1711-1793, served with distinction before the Revolution as treasurer of the province of Pennsylvania. He was among the Quakers who were deported to Virginia in 1777 on suspicion of disloyalty to the Revolutionary cause (*Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. by Amelia Mott Gummere, Philadelphia, 1927; Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton, King of the Quakers*, Philadelphia, 1943).

John Field was a merchant at 22 So. Front Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1794. He was one of those who took part in the maple sugar company (p. 177, note 14).

Nicholas Waln, 1742-1813, studied law in England, at the Middle Temple, and practised successfully in Philadelphia, but renewing his devotion to the Quaker religion became a "public friend" or travelling preacher. He had a large fortune acquired by marriage. Waln's legal experience was of great service to the Quakers. At the time of this visit to Ternant he was clerk (chief official) of the Philadelphia yearly meeting, which included the Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey (DAB; Isaac Sharpless, *The History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania*, II, 1899; *Quaker Biographies*, series I, IV, Philadelphia, 1904).

Samuel Emlen, Jr., 1730-1799, a man of ample fortune and an accomplished classicist, became a Quaker minister and travelled widely on missions in the southern colonies, England and Ireland (*Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. by Amelia Mott Gummere, Philadelphia, 1927).

Thomas West was possibly the well-known Quaker of that name (1716-1792), half-brother of Benjamin West the painter (*Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association*, vol. 18, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1929).

Henry Clifton, 1753-1830, resided at Kingswood, N.J., and was an elder in the monthly meeting of that place. He was known for his hospitality to visiting Friends, and as "an example of justice, temperance, moderation" (*Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 1833).

October 9, Ternant wrote to Montmorin, the French minister of foreign affairs: "L'assemblée générale des Quakers qui vient de se tenir ici m'a envoyé hier un députation de dix de ses membres pour me temoigner la satisfaction qu'ils avoient à me voir de nouveau parmi eux, et pour m'assurer de leurs dispositions fraternelles envers la France, ainsi que des voeux ardens qu'ils forment pour le succès de sa nouvelle constitution. Cette démarche m'a fait autant plus de plaisir qu'elle est la première attention de ce genre que les Quakers ayent eû pour un ministre étranger, et qu'elle me facilitera les moyens de rendre leur influence qui est très grande dans ce pays, fort utile à ma mission" ("Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States," ed. by F. J. Turner, *Ann. Rep. Am. Histor. Assoc. for the Year 1903*, Washington, 1904, vol. II).

October 9. He visited me this morning and for 15 minutes talked unintelligibly. I discovered that he was a materialist and an Atheist. He said "he was in search of the origin of moral motion." Dr. Ross[61] informed me next day that he advised him to be cautious how he broached his principles before me, for that I believed in a God. "Ah, he said, we must excuse him, he will get over his prejudices bye and bye." He said in one conversation, that "man was an anticipating animal." The Irish, he said, were not.

October 14. Waited upon a Scotch clergyman at Mrs. House,[62] of the name of Brown,[63] from Nova Scotia, a man of genius, learning, observation, and uncommonly eloquent in conversation.

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[60] According to DNB, one of John Stewart's books, supposed to have been written in 1789, is called *Travels to Discover the Source of Moral Motion* (London, 1810).

[61] Presumably Andrew Ross, physician, 6 Pruan (Prune) Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791) the same who was involved in a quarrel with BR and John Rush in 1797 (see Appendix 3).

[62] Mary House, boarding house, 170 High Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791).

[63] Andrew Brown was a Presbyterian clergyman who preached in St. Matthew's Church (formerly Mather's Congregational Church) Halifax 1787-1795, with the exception of an interlude in 1791-92, when he returned to Scotland to bring out his wife. It may be that it was on the way to Scotland that he was in Philadelphia.

While in Halifax he collected a great deal of material with a view to writing a history of Nova Scotia. This collection is now in the British Museum, known as the Brown Manuscripts. After his return to Scotland he held charges both in Dumfriesshire and Edinburgh, and in 1801 he was appointed to the chair of rhetoric and belles lettres in the University of Edinburgh. He died in 1834.

The date of his birth is not known, but he was born at Biggar in Lanarkshire and was a graduate of Edinburgh University. Dr. Murray in discussing him says, "Dr. Brown's tact and humanity practically healed the breach between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, New Englander and Old Countryman." (Personal communication, Mr. D. C. Harvey, Archivist, The Public Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia.)

Commonplace Book of
BENJAMIN RUSH
1792-1813

From the manuscript in possession
of The American Philosophical Society

Commonplace Book of
BENJAMIN RUSH
1792-1813

[1792]

[Three leaves having been torn out of the manuscript, the extant text begins abruptly on page 7.]

...... lives of animals for food. He[1] said that 9 out of 10 wars were less the wars of Kings than of their people. The war which France undertook for the United States was forced upon the court by the nation. He said that military ambition was doing our country more harm than the funding system, and that ambition had a strong hold of the heart of the President of the United States. He spoke in high terms of the integrity of John Jay[2] while he was abroad, and said he often saw and conversed with the Abbé Raynal[3] in Paris.

A Thought. Dr. Witherspoon says all men are found out before they die. I deny it. Some men are not found out 'till after death, and many will not be fully known 'till the Day of Judgement.

Heads of an EULOGIUM on Death

1. It relieves unhappy and discontented husbands and wives.
2. It relieves children from parents who keep them too long out of their estates.
3. It relieves Physicians of incurable patients.
4. It relieves nations of tyrannical kings and blundering ministers who are so riveted either in force or in delusion upon the minds of the people that there is no other way of getting rid of them.

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[1] John Adams, who was, no doubt, the person quoted in this fragment, was in France at various times during his period of service abroad, 1778-1788.

[2] John Jay, 1745-1829, jurist and diplomat, was abroad as minister from the American Colonies to Spain 1780-1782, and as colleague of Franklin and Adams on the commission to negotiate peace with Great Britain, 1782. He returned to America 1784 (DAB).

[3] Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, 1713-1766, celebrated French historian (NBG).

5. It relieves the world of old men who keep the minds of men in chains to old prejudices. These men do not die half fast enough. Few Clergymen, Physicians, or Lawyers beyond 60 do any good to the world. On the contrary, they check innovation and improvement.

[*March 1*].[4] Yesterday a vote passed the lower house of Assembly to allot £15,000 to build a mad house. The idea of this building &c. originated last winter in a conversation with Barthm. Wister[5] in the hospital, and the public mind was first awakened to it by a short publication I threw out in Dunlap's paper. I mention this to encourage my boys to expect great things from slender beginnings and weak instruments.

March 20. This day was spent in debating about the establishment of free Schools in our Legislature. I had great pleasure in living to see this event, for I had ten years ago and ever since inculcated the necessity and advantages of them from the press.[6] On this day of triumph in seeing so great good accomplished, I met Jno. Jones[7] in the street, who told me that the Governor, Tom Mifflin, had withheld a renewal of a commission I had held for ten years as one of the Inspectors of Sickly Vessels for the port of Philadelphia. This was the only tie that my government had upon my gratitude. It was worth only 15 or 20 guineas a year. I felt no uneasiness from hearing that I was turned out of office. Some time ago I applied through Mr. Randolph[8] to the President of the United States for the place of District Judge of

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[4] The date of this entry was omitted from the ms. by BR. "March 1" was entered in pencil by someone, and was adopted by the editor of the fair copy used by Biddle. Morton, *Hist. Penna. Hosp.*, states that on April 11, 1793, the Assembly passed an act granting $26,666.67 to the Managers of the Hospital to erect the west wing "for the accommodation of the diseased in body and in mind." It appears, therefore, that the action of the lower house, mentioned here, was not confirmed at once and that the appropriation was altered when the act was passed in the following year.

[5] Bartholomew Wistar, 1754-1796, an elder brother of Dr. Caspar Wistar, the anatomist (R. W. Davis, *The Wistar Family*, Philadelphia, 1896). He was a Manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital from 1789 to his death (Morton, *Hist. Penna. Hosp.*).

[6] According to Goodman, p. 308, BR wrote an essay on the subject in 1784, but the first publication was *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1786.

[7] This John Jones was not the celebrated doctor of that name, who died in 1791. In the 1791 and 1793 Philadelphia *Directories* there were in all 7 John Joneses.

[8] Edmund Jennings Randolph, 1753-1813, at the time attorney-general of the U.S. The application on behalf of Jacob Rush was made early in 1792; a letter from BR to Jefferson, January 4, asks his support in the matter (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress).

Pennsylvania for my brother. This was refused. These are excellent lessons not to trust to the gratitude of our country for services to it.

March 30. Spent a long and agreeable evening with Mr. Madison in his room at Mrs. House's. Our conversation was upon the evils introduced into our country by the funded debt of the United States, and in praise of republican governments. He said that he could at all times discover a sympathy between the speeches and the pockets of all those members of Congress who held certificates.

The conversation during this month turned very much on the fall of the funds from 25/ to 20/ occasioned by the failure of Wm. Duer[9] of New York. This man it was said aimed at monopolising all the 6 per cents (amounting to seventeen millions of dollars) of the United States and selling them afterwards to foreigners for 27/ or 30/ in the pound.[10] In this attempt he contracted immense debts to merchants, tradesmen, draymen, widows, orphans, oystermen, market women, churches, and even common prostitutes. He failed, it was said, for two millions and an half of dollars, and so angry were his creditors that he was obliged to shelter himself from them by flying to a gaol. He ruined several brokers and injured many trading people by his failure. Many stories very disgraceful to his moral character were circulated against him. This failure was ascribed to all the Banks ceasing to discount and calling in their credits. By these events a great universal demand was created for money, and many persons in New York and Philadelphia gave from 2 to 8 per cent for temporary loans of money, and some 1 per cent per day, to make good their engagements to the different Banks.

The spirit of speculation ran high during the whole of the last winter, so as to destroy patriotism and friendship in many people. "Is it true," said a speculator to me, "that the President of the United States intends to resign?" "I do not know (said I) but what makes you ask that question?" "A true answer (said he) would determine me to buy in or sell out of the funds."

Two or three expresses generally passed between New York and Philadelphia every 24 hours to convey the prices current of stock.

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[9] William Duer, 1747-1799, merchant and financier, was active in Revolutionary affairs and was a member of the Continental Congress. When the Treasury Department was organized in 1789 he was appointed assistant secretary under Hamilton, but resigned after 6 months. Becoming seriously involved in large speculations, he was arrested for debt Mar. 23, 1792, and spent the rest of his life in prison (DAB).

[10] The uncertain situation in Europe made American investments attractive.

April 13. General Hull (with Genl. Hampton)[11] drank tea with me. The former is agent to Congress from Massachusetts for obtaining justice to the late American officers and soldiers who sold their certificates for 2/6 up to 5/ in the pound during the late war. May Heaven succeed his efforts!

April 14. Failures numerous in New York and Philadelphia. Mr. McComb,[12] a merchant in New York, once worth £100,000 Sterling, failed this week. He was a man of excellent character. Ten of his own and five of his brother's children and a young wife with two children by a former husband shared with him in his calamity. Walt. Livingston[13] and many others followed him as bankrupts. Several happened this week in Philadelphia, as J. M. Taylor, Summers,[14] etc. Duer's notes for certificates amounted to 30 millions of dollars. It appears that he borrowed the funds of a lottery to build a bridge over Raritan in New Jersey, and £70 or 80 of money raised by a charity sermon, both of which he has wasted. Thousands, it is said, will be injured, and hundreds ruined by him. Certificates 19/6, Half shares of National Bank stock 15 per cent, bills of exchange on London 55 and 57 1/2, so great is the scarcity of Cash.[15]

April 18. Bankruptcies continue to encrease in New York and Philadelphia. A gentleman just arrived from New York says that he scarcely entered a house in which he did not find the woman in tears and the husband wringing his hands. Whippo,[16] formerly an oysterman, had run away with £200,000 in bank notes. The Bank of New York observed that few of their old notes came in to them, owing, it was thought, to their being secreted by the Bankrupts. Many of the Brokers who had failed had bespoke carriages, and some of them four horses. As yet I have heard of not one instance of Insanity, and only one of suicide, and he was a Frenchman who had lost by Duer's failure. Real property, which had risen 300 per cent in some parts of the city, especially Market and Chestnut Streets (into the last of which the Brokers crowded) suddenly fell to its former value. Two houses above 3rd Street in Chestnut Street belonging to Saml. Pleasants[17] were sold for $10,000 to two brokers. It was currently said that 2000 had been offered to Mr. P. to take them back again. Chestnut Street was now called "Lame Duck Alley." Isaac Franks informed me that all the prices above 15/ in the pound for certificates were produced by notes from one broker to another, for that there was not money enough in the country to raise them above that price.

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[11] William Hull, 1753-1825, then resident in Massachusetts after service in the Revolutionary army (DAB).

Wade Hampton, 1751-1835, at the time an office holder in South Carolina (DAB).

[12] Alexander McComb, educated in New York City, became a fur-trader and merchant in Detroit. He returned to New York a rich man in 1782 and was in the New York Legislature 1787-1788. One of his sons was the distinguished soldier Alexander McComb (*Memoir of Alexander McComb, Major-General Commanding the Army of the United States*, by George H. Richards, New York, 1832).

[13] Walter Livingston, 1740-1797, son of Philip Livingston (see p. 146) served the state of New York in various legislative and judicial offices. During the war he was a commissary officer. He was a member of Congress in 1784-1785, and was appointed a commissioner of the U.S. Treasury in 1785 (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*).

[14] The Philadelphia *Directory* of 1793 listed J. M. Taylor, merchant, 3 No. Water Street, and Andrew Summers, Jr., 67 So. Second Street.

[15] Certificates and half shares are explained in Appendix 2. The figures 55 and 57½ presumably are expressed in cents and represent the current relative value of the dollar in purchasing the English pound sterling, i.e. U.S. currency was 42½ to 45% below par (personal communication, Lyle J. Holverstott, Asst. Chief, Div. of Treasury Archives, U.S. National Archives).

[16] Isaac Whippo, broker, 55 Water Street, is listed in the New York City *Directory* for 1791 but is missing from that of 1792. On March 29, 1792 he signed an advertisement in Dunlap's *American Daily Advertizer* calling a meeting of William

April 25. Private accounts still inform us that great distress prevails in New York. Men are often seen to weep in the streets. Fighting and boxing are common at the Coffee house. Two instances of the same kind have happened in Philadelphia. Only seven gentlemen and five ladies attended an assembly in New York. Half shares which were at par have risen to 30 and 35 per cent, and 6 per cents from 19/ to 20. This is supposed to be artificial. Script rose in the same way last summer, and the South Sea stocks in 1720. The persons who had suffered took great pains to conceal their losses. Some of them assumed an affected chearfulness.

April 28. This day a German physician, Dr. Seger of South Carolina (introduced to me by Dr. Ramsay)[18] dined with me. He had lived five years in Charleston. When he went there, he said, his head was stuffed with morality and Christianity, and that he could not bear to

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Duer's creditors, only two weeks before Whippo himself absconded. There appears to be no mention of his defalcation in contemporary newspapers.

[17] Samuel Pleasants, 1737-1807, a Quaker merchant and philanthropist, was listed in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791 as residing at 104 and 106 Chestnut Street.

[18] Rev. G. J. Gongaware, historian of the German Friendly Society of Charleston, states that he has not come across any mention of Dr. Seger or anyone of similar name.

David Ramsay, 1749-1815, physician and historian of Charleston, S.C., studied under BR, served in the Revolutionary army, and was a member of the Continental Congress. He was a warm friend of BR and wrote a eulogy on him after his death (DAB).

see a negro corrected, but that now he could bear to flay one of them alive.

May 1. This day Mr. Mecheaux [Michaux],[19] a French botanist on a tour through the American woods, drank tea with me. He was recommended to me from Charleston by Mr. Bushe[20] and Dr. Baron. He had spent 14 months in Persia. He says he found the *triticum Spelta*, the Lucerne, and clover, wild in that country, also many fruits, but the peach never. He spoke highly of the fruits of that country, that they were very saccharine and nourishing. He said that he once ate 120 nectarines for a Breakfast without being cloyed by them; that fruits composed the breakfast of rich and poor in Persia, rice and a small quantity of meat the dinner and supper. That the musk melons were preserved from September 'till May upon high and dry shelves, and always retained a good deal of their flavor. This he ascribed to their being raised in a loose, sandy, and dry soil, and to the great quantity of saccharine matter in them. That water was scarce in Persia, and brought 60 leagues in some cases to supply their towns and gardens by means of aquaducts. That he once eat a grape in Persia that had neither seeds nor stones. That he brought the seed of a plumb tree from Persia to Charleston, which flourished there, although no European plumb had been known to thrive there. He said that the seeds of all plants declined the first, but thrived the 2nd year after being transplanted. That the venereal disease was universal, and incurable in Persia. That he once had a pleurisy in Persia from drinking sour milk when he was very warm. He said Chardin[21] had published the best account of Persia. The fig and the grape, he said, never rotted or became sour on the tree or after they fell, but dried, became candid, and still retained their sweetness.

June 2. Met this day at Thomas Armat's with a Methodist minister of the name of Glendenning,[22] who had been insane for four years

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[19] André Michaux, 1746-1802, French botanist, went to Persia in 1782 and made extensive botanical explorations there for his government. In 1785 he was sent to America and travelled widely with his son (DAB). He founded a botanical plantation near Charleston. At the time BR met him, Michaux was in Philadelphia seeking support from the American Philosophical Society for his travels in the western U.S. His journals of the journey were published by the Society in 1889 (*Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.* XXVI, edited by C. S. Sargent).

[20] Mr. Bushe has not been identified.

[21] Sir John Chardin, 1643-1713, *Travels in Persia and the East Indies*, London, 1686.

[22] Thomas Armat, shopkeeper, 105 North Second Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1791).

William Glendenning was admitted to the Methodist ministry on trial in 1775 and

and an half during all which time he said he was in a state of despair. That he felt all the bodily pains and mental anguish of the damned. That he slumbered only during this time. That he eat as usual but that his food had no relish. That he lost all his passions and appetites. That he loved and hated nobody. That he had a coldness in his extremities and a heat in the upper parts of his body. That he kept his hands in constant motion towards his head and thighs and arms, crying out at the same time, "O! wretched man that I am, I am damned! O! I am damned everlastingly!" During this time he lost all sense of years, months, weeks days, and even of morning and evening. Time to him was no more. . . . . memory and . . . . . . [about 3 lines torn out].

600 Subscriptions only were required with a deposit of 30 dollars. Before 10 o'clock there were between 22 and 2300, out of which 600 were deducted by means of a lottery. The share then sold for 80 and 100 dollars. The strife at the doors and windows where subscriptions were received was equal to what occurs at contested elections.[23]

June 18. This day I attended the funeral of Wm. Gray's[24] wife, a black woman, with about 50 more white persons and two Episcopal Clergymen. The white attendants were chiefly the neighbours of the deceased. The sight was a new one in Philadelphia, for hitherto (a few cases excepted) the negroes alone attended each other's funerals. By this event it is to be hoped the partition wall which divided the Blacks from the Whites will be still further broken down and a way prepared for their union as brethren and members of one great family.

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in full connection in 1776. He was assistant minister of various circuits and churches in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia until 1785. After that he was unassigned and in 1787 and 1790 he is recorded as receiving financial help from the fund for superannuated preachers. Apparently he did not return to active service in the ministry after his breakdown. "Minutes of Some Conversations between the Preachers in Connection with the Reverend Mr. John Wesley" in *Minutes of the Methodist Conference from 1783-1803*, New York, 1813.

[23] The event described in this fragment took place on June 4. It was the public subscription for stock in a company organized to build a road from Philadelphia to Lancaster. The subscriptions were received at the State House (advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 30, 1792).

[24] William Gray was one of the leaders of the Philadelphia Negroes during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 and was especially commended for courageous services, with Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, by Matthew Carey in his *Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately Prevalent in Philadelphia*, 1793. Richard Allen (*Life and Labors*) cites him as one of those who helped to found the African church.

. . . in America, would forever prevent aristocracy in our country. That Religion had never had fair play in the world, having been always either nursed or persecuted by government. That our governments were before the people of America in liberality, in tolerating all sects, even atheists. In a conversation at a dinner May 16th he told me that the French police in Paris employed 50,000 servants as[25]

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June 30. Capt. Semple informed me that he saw a woman who had lost her husband in the battle with the Indians on the 4th of November, 1791[26] courted by a soldier 12 miles from the field of battle and consent to marry him. Immediately after the contract was agreed to, she took the soldier's musquet out of his hands and carried it for him, as if to show that she was his real helpmate.

Capt. Barry informed me that the poor Chinese feed upon the lice of their own bodies and that they are so choice of human ordure for manure that they used to come with baskets and pick up what fell from the ships which he commanded.

June 10. [*probably July 10*]. This day agreeably to an invitation I attended the circumcision of a child of eight days old of Jonas Philips.[27] There were above 30 persons, all Jews except myself, at the ceremony. The men only witnessed it. The women remained upstairs 'till the operation was completed and the child returned to the mother. The ceremony began by chanting from a Hebrew Book in which the Priest led. The company followed standing with their hats on. Two held candles lighted, one a forceps, one a knife, and three a glass of wine each. After chanting 5 minutes the Priest took the child and placed it on the knees of one of its brothers, who with a sash on sat on a table with a pillow in his lap. The Priest then drew forward the foreskin and secured it with his silver forceps, and then suddenly cut off the skin. He afterwards tore the inner skin with his fingers and trussed it backwards so that nothing appeared but the naked glans penis. He now put his lips to the wound, and sucking some blood from it spit it into one of the glasses of wine. After this he springled Dragon's blood on the wound, and a little wine, and then covered it with lint wet with Balsam Copaira [Copaiba], over which he spread a plaster of wax and oil. During the whole of the process, the chanting was continued to drown the cries of the child. When the ceremony was finished, and the child returned to its mother, all the friends of the family went up to her and saluted her. The women upstairs showed great marks of distress and sympathy during the performance of the ceremony. Mrs. Norris[28] said she rejoiced that her last child was a girl, as it thereby escaped the dreadful operation. An ingenious Physician, a Jew, who attended the ceremony told me that Jews in consequence of the loss of the foreskin were less subject to be infected with the venereal disease, and when they received it, escaped all the troublesome symptoms which were connected with the foreskin, as phimosis, paraphimosis, chancres, etc. After the whole was ended, the company sat down to a splendid and plentiful breakfast. The heat of the day was 84°.

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[25] The speaker quoted in this fragment was possibly John Adams.

[26] The battle of Nov. 4, 1791, fought on a branch of the Wabash near Ft. Wayne, Indiana, was an incident of the war waged against the Indians by Gen. Arthur St. Clair as governor of the Northwest Territory. St. Clair's force was surprised and overwhelmingly defeated by an Indian army of inferior numbers.

Semple was quartermaster of Col. T. Butler's battalion (*A Narrative of the Manner in which the Campaign against the Indians was Conducted . . . under the Command of Major General St. Clair*, Philadelphia, 1812).

[27] Jonas Phillips, merchant, 229 North Second Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1793).

July 11. The above Jew physician paid me a visit, and presented me with a history of Surinam written by himself. His name is Dr. Nassy.[29] I asked him what he thought of the present state of the world, and whether the favors lately shown to his nation by public bodies did not indicate the speedy fulfilment of certain prophecies relative to them. He said he thought with Dr. Franklin that it was best to believe, but that it seemed very improbable that the Supreme Being should give a preference to any one nation such as it was said he has given to the Jews. I found that he was a Deist, for I have long observed that men may be Deists, and yet be warmly attached to the forms of the Sects in which they have been educated.

July 16. Mr. Hurt informed me that Judge Burke[30] had assured him that he was made a Roman Catholic and a Deist nearly at the same time by two different priests in one of the colleges in France.

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[28] Mrs. Norris has not been identified.

[29] David Nassy was an interesting figure whose history has not been worked out in full. He came from Surinam, where his family was prominent in the Jewish colony. He wrote a history of Surinam in French and Dutch, 1788, which has become very rare. An alleged English translation is not to be found. During his residence in Philadelphia he was made a member of the American Philosophical Society and wrote a pamphlet on yellow fever (Sigmund Seligman, "David Nassy of Surinam and his Lettre Sur les Juifs," *Publ. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, XXII, 1914; Richard Gottheil, "Dr. David Nassy in Surinam," *ibid.*, IX, 1901).

[30] Aedanus Burke, 1743-1802, born in Ireland, studied at the English Jesuit college at St. Omer, France. He fought in the Revolutionary war, was judge of the South Carolina Circuit Court 1778-1782, member of Congress 1789-1791, chancellor of the South Carolina Court of Equity 1799-1802 (DAB).

Notes, July 18. Many people suppose that there is but one kind of snuff or cordial to the system, but there are many, as gaming, scandal, obscenity, politicks, war, interest of money, good eating, etc., all of which invigorate the mind and body as much as snuff.

General Putnam[31] got great credit by killing a troublesome wolf in his neighborhood in New England. Every neighborhood has its destructive wolf. They are oppressors of the poor, whether Lawyers or Doctors, also trading Justices, Duellists, Bruisers, Epigrammatists and scurrilous writers in news papers, gamesters, loungers, litigious persons, bad witnesses, etc.

There are an hundred substitutes for labor in every pursuit. Every Art and Science is taught by plans made easy to the lowest capacities. Every art too is carried on by methods to shorten and lessen labor. The business of eating is made easy, also of government by secretaries reporting instead of committees of Congress, of Death by grapeshot, of midwifery by men practising it instead of women, of rowing and navigation by steamboats, of land carriage by canals and turnpikes, of studying Divinity by catechisms, law by compends, and Physic by lectures, of fasting by Physic, and of natural evacuation by glysters by persons in health, of riding by high carriages, etc.

There is a propensity in all Sciences to simplify themselves and to ascribe that to one which should be divided among many causes. For example, how few Sects honour Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in Religion as they should do. The Socinians honour the Father only, the Catholics the Saviour chiefly, and the Quakers the Holy Spirit above both! How few include all the ends of our Saviour's death in their belief of the Atonement. Each contends for one end only, while 6 or 7 other ends are clearly revealed in the Scriptures. Many exalt one power or one sett of powers only in the mind instead of all. Many confine Religion to one power only instead of applying it to all—the Episcopalians to the understanding, the Methodists to the passions, and the Quakers the moral powers.

July 21. Westly [Wesley] forbids his preachers to affect to be, or even appear like gentlemen, and indeed when we consider how that word is abused in the world it is no wonder he gave such advice. A man who has been bred a gentleman cannot work, "Dig he cannot," and he will not ask for charity, "for to beg he is ashamed," and therefore he lives by borrowing without intending to pay, or upon the public or his friends. A gentleman cannot wait upon himself, and therefore his hands and his legs are often as useless to him as if they were paralytic. If a merchant be a gentleman he would sooner lose 50 customers than be seen to carry a piece of goods across the street. If a Doctor should chance to be a gentleman he would rather let a patient die than assist in giving him a glyster or in bleeding him. If a parson he loses his zeal etc. If a tradesman should happen to be a gentleman he is undone for ever, by entertaining company, by a country seat, or by wishing to secure the society and good will of gentlemen by trusting them. In a word, to be a gentleman subjects one to the necessity of resenting injuries, fighting duels and the like, and takes away all disgrace in swearing, getting drunk, running in debt, getting bastards, etc. It makes nothing infamous but giving or taking the lye, for however much gentlemen pretend to be men of their word, they are the greatest lyers in the world. They lie to their creditors, to their mistresses, to their fathers or wives, or to the public.

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[31] Israel Putnam, 1718-1790, of Salem, Massachusetts, Revolutionary soldier. Many romantic tales were told about his strength and courage in youth (DAB).

The Indian savages oblige their women only to work. Among civilized nations the women oblige the men only to work. The men among the former, and the women among the latter consider the opposite sex made only to administer to their comfort without any cooperation on their part. Both are wrong. Men and women were made to work together in different ways.

July 22. Mr. Hutson[32] told me that the Revd. Mr. Venn used to say that he never was half an hour in Mr. Walker of Truro's company without discovering some new depravity in his heart, never half an hour in Mr. Westly's company without being ashamed of his idleness, nor half an hour in Mr. Harvey's company without being ashamed of his want of love to Jesus Christ.

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[32] Presumably Richard Hutson, 1748-1795, of Charleston, South Carolina, a distinguished lawyer, who was a member of the Continental Congress, lieutenant governor of South Carolina, and finally senior judge of the court of chancery (DAB). His father, an Englishman who was converted by Whitefield, was perhaps the one who passed on to him Dr. Venn's remark.

Henry Venn, 1725-1797, English clergyman, prominent in the evangelical revival in the Church of England.

Samuel Walker, 1714-1761, known as "Walker of Truro," celebrated Anglican preacher, in sympathy with the Wesleys.

"Mr. Harvey" probably refers to James Hervey, 1714-1758, devotional writer admired for his gentle piety.

For these English clergymen see DNB.

July 25. There is in every part of the natural world an accommodation of cause to effect analogous to Stimulus to Excitability in the animal body. The spring and winter come on gradually, the Sun rises and sets gradually, and manners operate gradually, &c. The same remark applies to morals and religion. No man putteth new wine into old bottles. The light of the Gospel has risen gradually on the world. The Jews had precepts given to them which were not good, before they could bear those which were good. Fontanelle[33] says that if he were possessed of all the truths in the world he would impart them gradually. Endless punishment cannot be true, for it is disproportioned to the force of the mind to conceive of it in the present state. The happiness of heaven is to be progressive. Hence we read of the 3rd heavens, and of the heaven of heavens.

A Thought. A state of nature is said to be a state of war. A state of society, or the civilised state is much more, as far as stratagems compose a part of the business of war. Courtship, trade, buying and selling, renting, &c. are all carried on by stratagems. The knowledge of the world seems to consist only in knowing how to effect or avoid imposition.

Religion. There is a universal disposition in mankind to adopt too partial notions of God, and of his attributes. Some Sects honour the Father, some the Son, and others the holy Ghost, only, or supremely. Some Sects extol one attribute at the expense of the rest, as the Calvinists the sovereignty and justice, the Antinomians his mercy, &c.

There is an irresistible propensity in all men to *believe*, if not in a Saviour, in great men, in certain books, or systems, or in themselves.

July. I told Mr. H. that I had never lost but one patient in the disorder under which he laboured. A few days afterwards he told me that speech had given him great uneasiness. Perhaps, said he, I may be the next. This fact shows that the idea of only one Soul being lost either by a defect of mercy to redeem, or of power to save after redemption, is pregnant with despair, and contrary to the universal command and obligation to believe the Gospel.

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[33] Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, 1657-1757, French author and academician. (NBG).

August 27. Mr. Beckly[34] informed me that the President has complained to Mr. Jefferson that the Secretary of the Treasury[35] advised or obtruded his view upon him in all his appointments, that the President was dissatisfied and talked of resigning, that a member of Congress had examined the Register's books and found 26 members of the House of Representatives and 8 of the Senate certificate holders.[36]

A Thought. Some people who have no other way of attracting public attention or of being talked of make a fuss about their dead bodies. Gen. Butler used to say he would prefer being drowned or rotting above ground to being buried. Mr. Lawrence of Carolina has long had an Urn prepared for the preservation of his ashes.[37] Mr. S— gave orders that no person should see his body after he was dead. The Willing family[38] always dress the dead bodies of each other, or in other words, lay each other out. Christ raised us above every folly of this kind by teaching us that our bodies as well as our Souls are the objects of the care of the Saviour of the world.

A Thought. In human events there are the same deceptions as in the visible appearance in nature. We ascribe events to men and causes which have no more existence than the Pleura furens or Archeus of Helmont[39] or the stars and planets over human actions. The course of providence in governing the world and the influence of true but now secret causes in the administration of human affairs will never be known 'till the day of Judgement.

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[34] John Beckley of Virginia (d. 1807) "most mysterious, most unknown," was a personal friend and under-cover political assistant of Thomas Jefferson, who made him the first librarian of Congress. He was clerk of the House of Representatives 1787-1797 and 1801-1807, and was therefore in a position to hear the sinister (and correct) gossip about speculators in Congress quoted here by BR (Bernard Faÿ, "Early Party Machinery in the U.S.," *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1936, LX, 375).

[35] Alexander Hamilton.

[36] For the historical background of this accusation, see Charles A. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, New York, 1927, I, 354 and his documented report, "The Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy" in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, 1914, XIX, 282. Beard's researches confirm the statement that a large number (about 32) of the two houses of Congress were large holders of government paper.

[37] William Butler, 1759-1821. Revolutionary soldier and afterward general in the South Carolina militia, was for many years a member of Congress (DAB).

Henry Laurens, 1724-Dec. 8, 1792, the prominent South Carolina planter and statesman, stipulated in his will that his body was to be cremated and was one of the first white Americans whose remains were so disposed of (DAB).

[38] The Willings, among whom Thomas Willing, 1731-1821, first president of the Bank of the U.S., was the most prominent, were a rich, socially eminent and closely-knit family. Thomas W. and his sisters Mary Willing Byrd and Sarah Willing Powel occupied adjacent houses in a large garden on Fourth Street from Willing's Alley to Spruce Street (R. W. Griswold, *The Republican Court, or American Society in the Days of Washington*, New York, 1854).

[39] The Belgian physician and mystic J. B. van Helmont (1577-1644) taught that physiological processes are each presided over by a special *archaeus* or spirit. In a

[8 pages missing from manuscript]

[1793]

The king objected and said he hated all ceremony. "Why," said the Marquis, "your majesty is nothing but a ceremony."

Mr. Jefferson said that at Milan and in many other parts of Italy there were two languages spoken, the polite Italian among people of fashion, and the vulgar Italian which was scarcely intelligible. He said the French language improved in softness as you travelled south from Paris. In Provence the words terminated in vowels, e.g. *mere* was *mero* (mother).

He said it was suspected that the British ministry had indirectly bought Dr. Franklin's books through the medium of a Bookseller, and to this was ascribed the delay in their publication. The whole of Mr. Jefferson's conversation on all subjects is instructing. He is wise without formality, and maintains a consequence without pomp or distance.

August 22. Attended a dinner a mile below the tower in 2nd Street to celebrate the raising of the roof of the African Church.[40] About 100 white persons, chiefly carpenters, dined at one table, who were waited upon by Africans. Afterward about 50 black people sat down at the same table, who were waited upon by white people. Never did I see people more happy. Some of them shed tears of joy. An old black man took Mr. Nicholson[41] by the hand and said to him, "May you live long, and when you die, may you not die eternally." I gave them two toasts, viz: "Peace on earth and good will to man," and,

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treatise entitled *Pleura furens* (fulminating pleurisy) he explained pleurisy as caused by acidity conceived in the archaeus. Albrecht von Haller, whose books Rush used constantly, comments on Helmont's *Pleura furens* in his *Bibliotheca medicinae practica*, II. (See W. Pagel, *Jo. Bapt. Van Helmont, Einführung in die philosophische Medizin des Barock*, Berlin, 1930.)

[40] BR wrote a fuller account of the roof-raising in a letter to Mrs. Rush on the same day (letter owned by Mr. Lloyd W. Smith, Madison, New Jersey, to be printed in LHB, *Rush Letters*).

[41] Presumably John Nicholson, d. 1800; see below, p. 236, note 64. (DAB.)

"May African Churches everywhere soon succeed African bondage." The last was received with three cheers.

Thoughts on Necessity. Truth is a unit. Man is passive in animal life, volition, and salvation by Jesus Christ. Truth here prostrates pride and lays men in the dust before his Creator and Redeemer.

The first impressions on the senses are deceptive, as in sounds, distance, motion of heavenly bodies, &c. So of liberty; it is deceptive. By reasoning we see its fallacy. Thus we are "conceived and brought forth in error, as well as in sin."

We *blame* storms &c. in the infancy or ignorance of philosophy. Afterwards we see their utility. So of bad actions. Cultivation of the mind has the same effects in removing the mist from the moral world.

Persons most perfect blame and praise least, thereby practically ascribing all to God.

The doctrine of necessity leads to blame and praise tempers, not actions. Both lead to causes, the last accidental, the first a principle. "A necessitarian can hate no one, for all do the will of God." (Priestley).

"In proportion as a devout man becomes a necessitarian he will change supplication into praise." (Ditto).

One Will only in the Universe. The Deists have improved metaphysicks. A complete System cannot be formed without a contribution from all Sects, even from Deists—will be useful to bind all men together by mutual obligation, concession, and gratitude. Moral and physical necessity, the same.

Praise and blame useful chiefly to create imitation, or to deter by example, or to create new motives, or encrease the operation of old ones. Punishment, therefore, of all kinds benevolent.

[1794]

June 4. Dr. Priestly[42] landed at New York. June 18th, came to Philadelphia. 19th, I waited on him, and spent above half an hour in his company. He related many instances of the persecuting conduct of the church and court towards him. One was that Dr. Parr,[43] an Episcopal minister, for having only written a few lines in his favor, was threatened with having his house destroyed, and was forced to remove his library, consisting of 6000 volumes, to Oxford for safety.

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[42] Joseph Priestley, 1733-1804, the eminent scientist (discoverer of oxygen) and Unitarian theologian, came to America seeking political and religious freedom. His arrival was a matter of general interest and he was lionized in New York and Philadelphia. To BR the occasion was sufficiently important to cause him to reopen his notebook, neglected since August 1793 because of the great epidemic of yellow fever. He and Priestley conducted an active correspondence while the latter was in the United States and saw each other whenever Priestley came to Philadelphia from his home at Northumberland.

June 30. Visited the new jail with Caleb Lownes.[44] The prisoners, about 50 from the whole state, convicted on light offenses. The same pains taken now to convict as formerly to acquit.

All busy in working at: 1. sawing marble, 2. grinding plaster of Paris, 3. weaving, 4. shoemaking, 5. tayloring, 6. turning, 8. cutting or chipping logwood.

Care of morals: Preaching, reading good books, cleanliness in dress, rooms, &c., bathing, no loud speaking, no wine, and as little tobacco as possible. No obscene or profane conversation. Constant work, familiarity with garden, a beautiful one, 1200 heads of cabbage, supplies the jail with vegetables, kept by the prisoners.

Product of labor: One man carried 60 dollars out with him. All carry some. One made restitution for a stolen horse. They work from daylight 'till 6 o'clock, go to bed early, have no candle.

Conviction for small offenses. All express a wish to be released, and all confess they are happy. A silence pervaded them. Easy to tell by countenance who had recently come in. Never quarrel nor steal from each other. I gave —— to one man who bursted into tears at receiving it, a schoolmaster from Wyoming.[45] The solitary cells gloomy, five refractory persons in them. Only one Scotchman, a Barber, in the whole house. One man lost his reason from reflection soon after he came in. *A later entry in Rush's hand*: Col. Pollen[46] in 1801 said our convicts did not look like English Rogues. Ours had better countenances.

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[43] Samuel Parr, 1747-1825, English Whig clergyman and pedagogue, who met Priestley and formed a friendship with him in 1794 (DNB).

[44] The new jail was the Walnut Street Prison, at 6th Street, completed in 1773, used as a military prison during the Revolutionary war, and first used as county jail in 1784.

Caleb Lownes, iron merchant, 6 Carter's Alley (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791), was one of the inspectors of the prison (James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1811).

[45] i.e. the Wyoming valley of Pennsylvania.

[46] Possibly Zalma Pallen, a Polish officer who served under Napoleon; he came to Virginia in 1800 and settled in King and Queen County (Kelly-Burrage, article on Moses M. Pallen).

July 2. Paid a visit of condolance to Mrs. Capper,[47] whose husband shot himself yesterday from a dread of meeting his creditors. She was distressed chiefly on account of his Soul. I endeavoured to comfort her from considerations of universal repentance and pardon after death.

July 3. Dr. Priestley dined with me. His conversation was highly instructive. He said that he had been very intimate with Dr. Franklin, and that from his often saying "he should like to peep out of his grave an hundred years hence" he concluded that he did not believe in a future state. He said that he had made many Deists. He acknowledged a belief only in the Being of a God and a particular providence. He spoke with great respect of Dr. Price,[48] but said that he viewed the doctrine of philosophical necessity with horror. He inclined towards the close of his life to the doctrine of final restitution instead of annihilation. I often accused Dr. Priestley of changing his opinion on that subject, for the Doctor inclined in his conversation with me to the annihilation of the wicked, from the analogy of some plants and animals which have perished for ever on our globe. He spoke in high terms of republican principles. He said that laws or opinions governed in France, and not men. This was proved by the same measures going on after the death or flight of so many of their leading characters. He praised the discipline of our jail, and said that gentleness reformed all wild animals as well as man. This he instanced in Mr. Bickwell,[49] who cured the most vicious horses in one night, by tickling them about their ears.

August 5. All evils cured by evil. Diseases cure each other, as gout and mania, dropsy, consumption, &c. Even remedies are nothing but the means of exciting new diseases. Whipping a dog prevents the effects of Nux Vomica. (Hartley, p. 51, vol. I).[50] What would be the effect of hot iron after swallowing poison?

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[47] Henry Capper, merchant, 53 North Third Street, was in the Philadelphia *Directories* of 1791 and 1793, but not in that of 1794.

[48] Richard Price, D.D.; see p. 183, note 31. One of Priestley's books, *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism and Intellectual Necessity*, London, 1778, was based on a correspondence with Price.

[49] The name may read Bicknell. A man of this name was proprietor of stage coaches, 55 Mulberry Street (Philadelphia *Directory* for 1794).

[50] David Hartley (see p. 94, note 28), *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations*, 1749. The reference is to the London edition of 1791.

Producing great events by little causes is like producing great effects by small force. Both shew sublime wisdom.

December 28. Met Dr. Helmuth going into St. Michael's Church in 5th Street, and condoled with him on the burning of his church on the evening of December 26.[51] He said "that it belonged to this world, and that he hoped it would be the means of building up the invisible Church of Christ." I saw him again on the evening of the same day, when he said "that the loss of the church had much affected his congregation, and that if it proved the means of converting only one of their Souls, it would be purchased at a cheap rate." He added that the morning collection, which in the burnt church amounted in general to only £4/10 had that day amounted to above £22.

A Thought. Many people make good breeding consist as much in *forms* as they do Religion. Manners is mistaken for the forms, as much as ceremonies for the latter.

Heads of a Lecture on the Origin of Evil:[52]

To be divided into natural and moral. Natural includes the human body and the globe; moral, the mind.

All evil consists in original weakness, and in consequent derangement. This derangement consists in 1st, excess or deficiency of motion attended with irregularity; 2nd, error loci, or absence of what is called fitness of things; 3rd, Solution of continuity. Evil negative and positive.

In the human body debility universal in acute and chronic diseases. Thus far negative. Then irregular action, error loci, or undue mixture and destruction of substance, e.g. in fevers, dropsies, putrefaction, and wounds. These effects are positive, but nothing new is created. But are not miasmata, contagions, and poisons evils? No. Act by error loci. Miasmata promote vegetation. Contagions do no harm to other animals; if we may judge from analogy, they are useful. Poison a relative term—see Smellie's natural history.[53] Also facts relative to sympathies. Is cheese evil? No; but poison to some people.

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[51] St. Michael's Lutheran Church was entirely destroyed by fire of accidental origin, Christmas evening 1794 (Watson).

Justus Henry Christian Helmuth, D.D., 1745-1825, came to the U.S. in 1769. A fine scholar and linguist, he was professor of German and Oriental languages in the University of Pennsylvania. He was one of the brave clergymen who remained in the city in the yellow fever epidemics from 1793 to 1800, in which, it is said, 625 members and adherents of his congregation died (DAB).

[52] The lecture synopsis is undated; it was probably written in 1794. In the Rush mss. there is a full draft of a Lecture on the Origin of Evil of Every Kind. This is written in BR's later hand. It bears no notation to show when or where it may have been publicly read.

Having shewn that nothing is created in diseases, now pain is excess or deficiency, i.e. of what in an inferior or superior degree is pleasure.

What is disagreeable or evil to the Senses is only derangement. Discord, offensive sights, touch all disorder. So smells; the corpse of our friends is offensive to two senses, is desirable to worms and insects.

Evil of the Globe is derangement—Deluge, winds, hurricanes, earthquakes all excess of action or error loci, or solution. Barren soils error loci. Dry seasons, deficiency. Heat, excess; cold, deficiency. Harmatan,[54] Syrocco error loci. Sickliness of a country owing to a want of conformity to it in strangers—no country naturally sickly to natives. Unity in the works of God—as one Sin introduced all the vanity and complications of Sins, so one disease, viz. debility, produced all the vanity and complication of diseases. One negative cause in both cases produces all the positive effects that are ascribed to them.

Moral Evil—Abstraction of power only in Supreme Being; positive effects afterwards. These admit of an almost infinite multiplication, as much so as an alphabet of 24 letters, which Harris in his Hermes quotes from Tacquet's arithmetic:[55] "A million of writers in a million of years could not write all the changes or compositions which the 24 letters of the alphabet are capable of undergoing, though each wrote 40 pages a day, and each page different orders of the 24 letters."

An apology for this digression—have been accused of poligamy in my studies. But unlike a plurality of wives, my studies all agree, and are handmaids to each other.

Disease an unit. Many diseases, like polytheism in religion, or many evil spirits instead of one devil.

[1795]

April 9. This day Tench Coxe called upon me to know whether I would accept of the Directorship of the Mint with a salary of £750 a year in the room of Dav. Rittenhouse, who was about to resign. I declined the offer on the steps of my door without deliberating one moment upon it. I objected to it, 1, because it would expose me to the calumnies of my brethren, who would say it interfered with my business; 2, because my business was more profitable to me than three times the value of the office; 3, because it would prevent my introducing my son into business, by withdrawing me from it. Because, 4, I had devoted myself to the establishment of a new System of Physic. I had secret objections to it which I did not mention. Never did any man feel more pleasure in receiving an office than I did in declining the above offer![56]

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[53] William Smellie, 1740-1795, *The Philosophy of Natural History*, Edinburgh, 1790; Philadelphia, 1791 (DNB).

[54] *Harmattan*, a dry, dust-laden wind blowing from the interior, on the Atlantic coast of Africa (Webster's Internat. Dict.).

[55] André Tacquet, *Arithmeticae Theoria*, Antwerp, 1663, cited by James Harris in his *Hermes, a Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Universal Grammar*, London, 1751.

August 23. This evening (Sunday) died my excellent friend Wm. Bradford Esqr.[57] Never did I labour more to save a life. He objected to being bled 'til the 5th day of a malignant fever, in which time effusion probably took place in his brain. He expected his death, and often spoke of it. He bequeathed me on his deathbed 1000 dollars, the interest of which was to be applied during my life to charitable purposes, and at my death to be bequeathed by me to charitable uses, or to my own children. See his character written and published by me. His death cut a sinew in my heart. I loved him tenderly.

September 25. This morning died my much beloved pupil, Gilbert Watson. He contracted his sickness by nursing Dr. Jardine's family on the Delaware above Bristol.[58] His fever became fatal (I believed) from the neglect of bleeding in one paroxysm of his fever. He had excellent talents, great industry, and uncommon sensibility to the distresses of sick people.

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[56] Elias Boudinot received the appointment. In 1797 BR sought and accepted the treasurership of the Mint under Boudinot (see p. 102).

[57] William Bradford, Jr., 1755-1795, was the son of the Revolutionary patriot and printer William Bradford, 1729-1791. He was graduated from Princeton 1772, studied law and served in the Revolutionary War. In 1780 he was appointed attorney-general of Pennsylvania and 1791 became a justice of the state Supreme Court. In 1794 Washington appointed him attorney-general of the U.S. (DAB).

For the sequel to his deathbed bequests, see p. 273 and Appendix 4.

[58] Gilbert Watson of Pennsylvania was enrolled as BR's apprentice in 1793 (Ms. List of Apprentices).

Lewis J. Jardine, a physician probably trained in England, settled in 1795 on a farm called "Richland" on the Delaware between Bristol and Trenton, where he practised medicine. In 1800 he was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia. He removed to Liverpool, England, in 1802 and was corresponding with BR about medical matters as late as 1812 (*8 Rush mss., 44-64*).

Inscription upon a tombstone over two of my children[59] in the Presbyterian Churchyard in Arch Street:

IN MEMORY OF
SUSANNA RUSH
BORN 7TH OF JANUARY, DIED 29TH OF MAY, 1782
ALSO OF
ELIZABETH GRAEME RUSH
BORN 4TH OF FEBRUARY, DIED 2ND OF JULY, 1783

"He gave Himself a ransom for all." I TIM. 2:6.

Epitaph on my mother on her tombstone in Christ Church yard:

IN MEMORY OF
SUSANNA MORRIS
WHO DIED JULY 2ND 1795
IN THE 78TH YEAR OF HER AGE
BEST OF MOTHERS!
BENJ. RUSH

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.
They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."
REV. XIV, 13.

Epitaph on my sister on her tombstone in the Presbyterian graveyard in Arch Street:

AN AFFECTIONATE AND GRATEFUL BROTHER
HATH CAUSED THIS STONE TO BE ERECTED
IN MEMORY OF
REBECCA WALLACE.
WHO DIED OCTOBER I, 1793 AGED 49 YEARS
WHILE SHE WAS PERFORMING THE HIGHEST
ACTS OF KINDNESS TO HIM, AND OF
HUMANITY TO THE DISTRESSED CITIZENS
OF PHILADELPHIA.

"Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord
When He cometh, shall find so doing."
MATH. XXV, 46.

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[59] These two infants were the fourth and fifth children of Benjamin and Julia Stockton Rush (see Appendix 3).

[1796]

The city was much agitated (not divided) on the subject of the President of the United States refusing to deliver up the papers relative to the treaty with Great Britain.[60] 62 members of the House of Representatives voted for it, and 37 against it. The President acted afterwards in the execution of the treaty, which gave great offense.

April 22. Mrs. Duché told me this day that her mother[61] had long objected to living with her "because she was afraid her love for her children would lessen her communion with God, which she enjoyed in her own house and alone." She concealed this reason for living by herself untill yesterday, even from her daughter Mrs. Duché.

June 27. This morning died aged about 64, David Rittenhouse, a man of immense genius, universal in its objects, modest, amiable, just, a friend to liberty, a true republican, beloved and admired by all who knew him.

July 27. Mrs. Mease[62] told me when dying that among other sins she had to repent of one was too much confidence in my remedies.

July 30. Mrs. Rittenhouse[63] told me that when she felt a disposition to be angry, she went to the Observatory, where her husband was buried, which composed her.

December. This month great distress pervaded our city from failures, &c. 150, it is said, occurred in 6 weeks, and 67 people went to jail (to come out by the Act of Insolvency) in two weeks. Morris and Nicholson,[64] said to amount to 10 millions of dollars, were currently sold for 2/6 in the pound. 30 per cent per annum was given for money. Hundreds drew their money in from Banks and common interest to lend it by the hands of Brokers at that usurious interest, all of whom suffered more or less by the failures. A spirit of speculation infected all ranks. J.B.,[65] the President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, drew 111,000 dollars without accounting for it. Br. M-n[66] sold his estate to his children to defraud his creditors. Dr. Ruston conveyed his estate to his children for the same purpose. James G.[67] was distressed, sued, and it is said will be ruined. Judge Wilson deeply distressed; his resource was reading novels constantly.

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[60] The papers in question were the bills providing for carrying out the treaty of London (Jay's treaty). Washington's ratification of the treaty (June 25, 1795) had been unpopular, and Congress was threatening not to implement it by refusing to make appropriations for the mixed commissions that were to settle border and debt problems.

[61] See below, p. 238, note 69, for the relationships of these two women.

[62] Presumably Esther Miller Mease, wife of John Mease and mother of BR's former pupil Dr. James Mease.

[63] Rittenhouse married in 1772, as his second wife, Hannah Jacobs (?-1799) of Philadelphia. "The lady he chose as his companion was a sensible, prudent and valuable woman, whose family were members of the Religious Society of Friends, and with whose brothers Mr. Rittenhouse had long been intimately acquainted . . . Mr. Rittenhouse ever found his wife a competent as well as a most faithful assistant in the business of the Treasury" (William Barton, *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse*, Philadelphia, 1813). Contemporaries said she showed "a masculine understanding" of financial problems.

[64] The financial debacle of Robert Morris and his partner John Nicholson (?-1800) after immense land speculations is sketched in the articles on them in DAB.

[1797]

January 27. I was called this morning to see Mr. Brown, who had been much burnt in attempting to rescue his wife and three children, all of whom had just before perished by fire.[68] His situation was awful! His constant cry was, "O! death, death! O Jehovah! Jehovah! Jehovah!" After exhibiting signs of recovery he was told of the fate of his family. In half an hour afterwards he lost his reason and so continued till he died, which was on the 4th of February. The next day

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[65] "J. B." was John Barclay, 1749-1824. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention, 1790; Mayor of Philadelphia, 1791; first president of the Bank of Pennsylvania, 1793. He was one of the founders of the Insurance Company of North America (B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., "John Barclay, Biographical: Soldier, Inn-keeper, Farmer, Judge, Mayor and Banker," *Bucks County Historical Papers*, VIII, 1938).

[66] "Br. M-n" was Blair McClenachan, ?-1812, an Irish-born Philadelphian who became rich by fitting out privateers during the Revolutionary War. He fought with the Philadelphia City troop at Trenton, Princeton and the Brandywine; and supported the war by large contributions and loans. After he attained social and civic prominence his speculative enterprises failed and he was for a time in debtors' prison. He was, however, elected to Congress 1797-1799 (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*; N. S. Barratt, *Outline of the History of Old St. Paul's Church*, Philadelphia, 1917).

[67] Among the 16 James G.'s in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1796, the one most plausibly represented by this reference is James Glentworth, exchange broker, 34 Chestnut Street. He was born about 1756 and died in 1834 (E. L. Clark, *Inscriptions in Christ Church Burying Ground*, Philadelphia, 1864).

Dr. Thomas Ruston and James Wilson, justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, are mentioned elsewhere in this book.

[68] The fire occurred between 5 and 6 a.m., January 27. "Died on Saturday morning Mr. Andrew Brown, printer and proprietor of the Philadelphia Gazette, of an inflammation of the lungs in consequence of the foul air and smoke inhaled at the late fire. The publication of the paper is continued on the usual plan" (*General Advertizer*, Feb. 6, 1797).

This rather callous statement of "business as usual" was in a way an appropriate epitaph for Andrew Brown, whose sense of duty had led him to publish the Gazette throughout the epidemic of 1793, thus making a great contribution to the emergency (Matthew Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately Prevalent in Philadelphia, 1793*).

Dr. Magaw preached a funeral sermon on the occasion to a crowded audience in St. Paul's Church. About a month before this catastrophe I called at Mr. Brown's house and found him in a serious conversation with his children. He told me he had been speaking to them about the danger of fire, and that they ought to be good in order to prevent their sharing the fate of many people who had suffered from fire during the winter.

March 21. This day died my excellent friend, Mrs. Duché. See her character in the newspaper. *March 23.* I visited her mother, Mrs. Hopkinson,[69] whom I found composed and resigned. She spoke of the deaths of her son, Judge Hopkinson, and of her daughter, Mrs. Morgan, and said, "I must be a crooked stick, to require so much affliction to straiten me." She said her daughter, Mrs. Duché, never went to bed without coming into her bedroom to see if she was comfortably lodged in bed, and never bid her good night without putting her arms round her neck and kissing her.

August 26. This day gave two Dollars to the keeper of the new Jail to buy water melons for the prisoners, and accompanied it with the following note: "A citizen of Philadelphia requests to the prisoners in the new Jail to accept of some water melons. He requests no other return for this small present that that they should consider that God, by disposing the heart of one of his creatures to shew them an act of kindness, is still their Father and their Friend."

December 22. This day sent the following note to the prisoners in the Jail: "Peter Brown,[70] Robert Wharton, Mrs. Susanna Bradford,[71] and Dr. Rush request the prisoners in the new Jail under sentence of confinement and labor, to accept of a dinner on turkies as a proof that they are still remembered in their present suffering condition by some of their fellow creatures. They hope they will be led by this small present on this anniversary day of the Birth of their Saviour to consider the infinite love of God to their Souls in sending his Son into the world to redeem them from all evil, and to introduce them when penitent into a state of everlasting rest and happiness."

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[69] Mrs. Thomas Hopkinson, 1718-1804, née Mary Johnson, was the mother of Francis Hopkinson, of Mary Hopkinson Morgan, 1752-1784 (wife of Dr. John Morgan), and of Elizabeth Hopkinson Duché (ca. 1739-1797) wife of Rev. Jacob Duché (*Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, by George E. Hastings, Chicago, 1926).

[70] For Peter Brown, see p. 324, note 59.

[71] Mrs. Bradford, née Susan Vergereau Boudinot, 1760-?, only daughter of Elias Boudinot, had married in 1784 William Bradford, Jr., 1745-1795, attorney-general of Pennsylvania.

December 24. Heard the Revd. Dr. Coke[72] preach in the African methodist Church. He said there were 167,000 adults in their society all over the world, 10,000 Black in the West Indies, and 300 on the coast of Africa.

December 26. Attended the Baptism of two children[73] of Mr. McConnel by the Revd. Dr. Blair.[74] The one was called Juliana, the other Benj. Rush.

December. This winter distress from the effects of speculation continued to pervade our city. The Jail was crowded with persons sent there for debt. The notes of persons of the first credit formerly were protested and laid over in the Banks.

December 27. Dined this day at Richd. Allen's[75] with Dr. Coke and seven other methodist ministers. My son Richard was with me. Dr. Coke told me that he had been educated at Oxford, had been a Deist, afterwards a minister of the Church of England before he joined the methodists. He said he was "a miracle of Grace." His Conversation was agreeable, and his manners those of a gentleman. His person was very small.

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[72] Thomas Coke, D.D., 1747-1814, was the first bishop in the U.S. of the Methodist Episcopal church. In fulfilment of his duties he travelled widely in the East and West Indies and in Africa (DAB).

[73] These were children of Matthew and Ruth Hall McConnell, (BR's cousin), both of whom have already been mentioned.

Benjamin Rush McConnell, 1797-1861, was graduated from Princeton, 1816, and from the University of Pennsylvania, M.D., 1819. He practised medicine near Mauch Chunk, Pa.

Julia McConnell, 1793-1868, married John George Miles, a prominent lawyer of Huntingdon, Pa. (Pleasants ms. notes).

[74] Samuel Blair, D.D., 1741-1818, a popular preacher, was living in Germantown after holding pastorates at New Castle, Delaware, and (briefly) in Boston (Sprague).

[75] Richard Allen (1760-1831) was pastor of the African Methodist congregation which BR had helped to organize and to acquire a church edifice. Born a slave in Philadelphia, he became a religious worker and was accepted and ultimately ordained by the Methodists as a minister. When in 1787 the movement for the separate Negro congregations began, Allen organized the independent African Methodist Church, of which he was later chosen bishop (1816). During the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 he took a leading part in the brave and devoted service of the Negroes to the sick (DAB; Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom*, Washington, D.C., 1935).

[1798]

January 2. This day died my good friend the Revd. Jacob Duché[76] in his 62nd year. He had been Rector of Christ and St. Peter's Church, was a pleasing speaker, his voice was musical, and his action very graceful. His Sermons were elegant but declamatory, and never profound. Dr. Smith,[77] his preceptor, said of him "that he had never known a man before him that was the same at 36 that he was at 18 years of age." He changed his religious opinions often, having been an Arminian, a Mystic, and finally died a disciple of Swedenburgh [Swedenborg]. He was under all these changes truly amiable, pious, and just. He was much disordered in the evening of his life, with a tendency to palsy, and with Hysteria. He sometimes laughed and cried alternately all day. His disposition to laughter was natural to him, so much so that he was obliged when a young man to pinch himself in the pulpit to prevent his laughing when he was preaching. He had likewise a diabetes and gravelly complaints. For all those complaints he took quack medicines constantly, by which means he probably shortened his life. His table was spread for physic every night, as regularly as the supper table of his family. He left Philadelphia with the British army in 1778 in consequence of his writing a letter to General Washington "to negociate for America at the head of his army." He returned to Philadelphia about five years ago, and was kindly received by all his old friends.

January 12. Mr. Wells, the interpreter of Little Turtle,[78] the Miami chief whom I had inoculated, informed me that the Miami tribe of Indians worshipped a good spirit, and that they offered sacrifices of a deer's heart when they went to Battle.

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[76] Jacob Duché, 1737-1798, educated in Philadelphia and at Cambridge, became assistant rector of Christ and St. Peter's churches in 1759 and rector in 1775. BR's estimate of his preaching has been confirmed by general opinion. At the beginning of the Revolution he was made chaplain of the Continental Congress. During Lord Howe's occupation of Philadelphia he was imprisoned for a time, and wrote a defeatist letter to Washington. For this he was ostracized and had to leave Philadelphia for England until 1792 (DAB).

[77] Rev. Dr. William Smith; see pp. 262-265.

[78] Little Turtle, ca. 1752-1812, a chief of the Miami Indians, was an adversary of the U.S. and was one of the principal leaders in the defeat of St. Clair in 1791. After 1794 he gradually adopted a friendly attitude. He visited the Eastern cities several times and was lionized by the citizens. BR inoculated him against smallpox in 1797, a year before the visit to Philadelphia mentioned here.

William Wells, a white man captured when a child by the Miamis, was adopted into the tribe and married a daughter (some say a sister) of Little Turtle.

For both of these men, see DAB and *Little Turtle*, by C. M. Young, Greenville, Ohio, 1917.

January 29. Introduced my son James[79] to Little Turtle, the chief of the Miami tribe who commanded in the defeat of General St. Clair. He gave him a name. It was "Wapemongua," which signifies a fishing bird called "a white loon." It was the name of his sister's son whom he had adopted.

Introduced Dr. Pinkard[80] to Mr. Jefferson. He said he was at a loss to know whether a horse, a deer, or a hare was the most timid animal. That the sudden rising of water in a rivulet that had been dry, and the roaring of the mountains in Virginia indicated rain. That Mr. Walker,[81] an old Doctor in Virginia, had told him the soldiers in a war he had been in sometimes cut stakes out of the flesh of their cattle as described by Bruce, and afterwards drove them along the road.[82]

Dined with a Dr. Dawson,[83] a Scotchman who had lived 40 years in Tortola. The population of that Island, he said, was 2500 whites and 9000 Blacks. They had one Episcopal minister and two methodists. The yellow fever he said broke out now and then in their low lands, and was cured by carrying patients to their mountains in the height of the fever. The pure air produced an intermission generally in 12 hours.

February 9.[84] This day I waited upon Mr. Volney. He was grave in his deportment, with a countenance inclining to melancholy. He said our climate in the Southern States excited, in the fall of the year, a feverish heat in the body. That the bones of an Italian, and Spaniard were specifically heavier than the bones of a German, Hollander, and Frenchman. He defended suicide, and said it was justifiable where a sense of evil predominated over a sense of good. I said it arose from derangement. He said no, it was the effect of just reasoning, and was very common in Japan according to Kempfer.[85]

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[79] James Rush, 1786-1869, seventh child of BR (See Appendix 3).

[80] George Pinckard, 1768-1835, was an army surgeon with Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition against the French West Indies in 1795. Returning to Britain via the U.S. in 1798, he ultimately settled in London and became prominent in the medical profession there (DNB).

[81] Thomas Walker, 1715-1794, an early medical practitioner of Albemarle County, Virginia, was Thomas Jefferson's guardian in the latter's youth. He was commissary general of the Virginia troops in the French and Indian War (DAB).

[82] The story of James Bruce, in his *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, Edinburgh, 1790, about beefsteaks cut from living cattle, has been alternately disbelieved and reaffirmed; see C. C. Bombaugh, *Gleanings for the Curious*, Hartford, 1875, under the heading "Abyssinian Beefsteaks."

[83] A letter from a Dr. James Dawson of Tortola, possibly the same man or a relative, is cited by J. Abraham in *Lettsom, His Life, Times, Friends, and Descendants*, London, 1933.

[84] This entry is not in the ms. Commonplace Book in its present state, nor in the Biddle edition. It is one of the sample passages copied by Rush into *Travels Through Life* (ms. p. 172, present edition p. 92) to illustrate his method of recording conversations. The year is not cited, but can be ascertained from the known dates of

March 3. Mr. Law[86] (son of the late Bishop of Carlisle) told me that in Calcutta the hills were sickly and the vallies healthy, and that the British troops were changed every month from one to the other, to prevent their becoming sickly.

July. This month I was frequently visited by Dr. Scandella,[87] an ingenious native of Venice. He was learned and very instructing in his conversation. On his passage to America he amused himself by calculating how much the population and prosperity of a country might be promoted by the timber of the frigate he came in being employed in building farm houses, by its guns, 36 in number, being made into implements of husbandry, and the crew (240) being employed with wives in agriculture.

August 3. Met Saml. Emlen this day in the street. He told me one of the . . .

[2 pages missing]

Volney's travels in America (Chinard, G., *Volney et l'Amérique*, Baltimore, 1923). Four pages of the Commonplace Book ms. are torn out, between January and July 1798.

[85] Engelbert Kaempfer, 1651-1716, German traveller in Japan, 1690-1692, *History of Japan*, printed in English from the unpublished German ms., 1729.

[86] Thomas Law, 1759-1834, seventh son of Edmund Law, bishop of Carlisle, was in India in the service of the East India Company 1773-1791. Coming to U.S. because of admiration for George Washington and for America in general, he married Anne Custis, Martha Washington's granddaughter, and became a useful citizen of Washington, D.C., interesting himself in currency problems (DNB).

[87] Jean Baptiste Scandella, ca. 1770-1798, a young Italian physician, said to have been well-born and talented in literature, had resided in London as secretary to the Venetian embassy. He came to America on a scientific journey, and quickly won the regard of his medical colleagues in the U.S. In September 1798, when in New York awaiting his departure for home, he attended a family attacked by yellow fever, was himself infected and was taken by Dr. Elihu H. Smith to the latter's own home, where he died. His host died the next day (letter of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill to Noah Webster, Sept. 17, 1798, quoted in *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, by I. N. Phelps Stokes, New York, 1926, v; obituary in *Medical Repository*, New York, 1799, II, 226; *An Account of the Malignant Fever lately prevalent in the City of New York*, by James Hardie, New York, 1799).

. . . now form new unions with evil passions without a conflict, and corrode all before them.

As medicines sometimes lie many days or weeks in the body without being felt, and before they take effect, so does moral and religious instruction. Years after being administered it produces good effects.

August 17. Agur prayed to be delivered from poverty, lest he should swear "by taking the name of the Lord in vain."[88] Poverty has many other evils attendant on it. It exposes men to being soldiers and dying with yellow fevers. It exposes women to diseases from hard labor, and to seduction, and both sexes to famine, strong drink to obviate hunger, and to the diseases from cold.

August 21. Mr. Liston[89] told me he was in Constantinople when 800 died in a day, of the Plague. That it was not always alike mortal. Sometimes one in 50, sometimes 1 in 25, and sometimes 2 out of 3. He said it was spread by dogs and cats, and once by a child touching the fur cloak of her father who was a Physician and who had just returned from visiting patients in the plague. He said in walking the streets of Constantinople he had two janisaries allowed him who went before him to clear the way to prevent his touching any body infected with the plague. In travelling through Turkey his servants who were Turks wished to put up in houses infected with the plague, which Mr. Liston prevented. The servants were offended and said "Mr. L. had no religion."

He told me at the same time that General Washington was the only man he ever knew in public life who gave no answer to a question, of any kind, that he did not chuse to resolve. He said during the five days he was at his house he observed him to be passionate with his servants and imposed upon by his overseer.

December 7. Mr. Young[90] informed me that of the two men whom I attended at his house in the yellow fever, one had contracted a love of spirituous liquors since I had cured him, the other was cured of it.

Met the Revd. Mr. Jno. Murray at the President of the U. S. He said a clergyman once came to hear him preach on Universal Salvation. He said afterwards his doctrine was rational, but not Scriptural. "A more severe thing (said Mr. M.) could not be said of the Bible."

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[88] Proverbs xxx, 8.

[89] Robert Liston, 1742-1836, an experienced Scottish diplomat, was sent as minister to the U.S. 1796-1802 in the hope that he could improve relations with the State Department over those of his predecessor Hammond. Liston had been in Constantinople as British ambassador, 1793-1796 (DNB).

[90] Presumably William Young, printer, bookseller, and stationer, 52, corner of Chestnut and Second Streets (Philadelphia *Directories*, 1791 to 1799).

December 15. Heard the Revd. Mr. Murray preach in the Universal Church. He gave the following explanation of a text which has often and long puzzled commentators, Corinthians I, xv, verse 29. "To be baptized for the dead," he said meant to be baptized professing a belief in the resurrection of the dead.[91]

Physicians should live, it is said, with apothecaries before they begin the study of physic. It would be well for many of them to live with cooks and nurses.

Yellow fever fatal at St. Domingo from soldiers concealing their complaints for some days lest they should be sent to a hospital, from whence so few return (Hect. McClean's "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of great Mortality among the Troops at St. Domingo," p. 129).

Sudden anger because porter and wine were refused killed Capt. L. in the yellow fever (ibid., p. 137).[92]

Guilt, Debt, and *bad health* are the greatest evils in the world, and perhaps the only proper sources of misery. They are evil in the order in which they are mentioned.[93]

Plurality of husbands a crime in women, but plurality of wives not so (Dr. Madan says) in men.[94] For, 1, it destroys the knowledge of the rightful inheritor of an Estate, and this is not agreeable to the God of Justice. Hence a brother's widows must be married to so keep an Estate in a family. 2, It often prevents conception, and thus defeats the first commandment, to encrease and multiply. 3, prevents children being protected by anyone, for their father must always be unknown.

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[91] "The simplest explanation is . . . a living Christian was baptized for an unbaptized dead Christian, who it was believed, was thereby accounted baptized and was received into bliss. Although discountenanced in the early church it was kept up by heretics . . . and is practised at the present day by the Mormons" (Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopedia*, New York, 1887).

[92] These two citations from Hector Maclean, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Great Mortality among the Troops at St. Domingo*, London, 1797, were written on p. 106 of the manuscript apparently for insertion into the text of p. 107, which is missing.

[93] Undated entry probably written in 1798 or 1799, p. 22 of the manuscript.

[94] The Rev. Martin Madan, whose sermons BR had heard in London in 1769, published in 1780 a book called *Thelypthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin*, in which he advocated polygamy. For this he had to resign his chaplainship of the Lock Hospital (DNB).

Poligamy, says Dr. Madan, not forbidden in the Old and New Testaments. Sometimes it is commanded. His arguments for it are: 1, All the Old Testament saints died in peace with God, who had more wives than one. 2, Our Saviour's geneology interrupted by a descent which would otherwise be illegitimate. 3, David's child by Bathsheba never called a son, but a *male child*, because born in Adultery. 4, Is calculated to promote population. 5, To prevent vice in various ways, as child murder, and to promote virtue and happiness. Poligamy not necessarily productive of greater population, but the old Jewish law which rendered an union of the sexes a marriage would prevent in a great measure the necessity of poligamy by curing the evils of prostitution and celibacy. The Devil, the cause of all these evils, called a murderer from the beginning. By preventing existence he acts up to that character. He probably thinks by this means to lessen the future triumphs of the Saviour. For he knows all who are born will be happy. Priests perform the ceremony to take away the impurity of marriage.

Quakers impose the same restraint upon taste which the Roman Catholics impose on appetite. The prohibition of music &c. is like the celibacy of nunneries and monasteries.

[1799]

April 30. Dr. Scott[1] of the British Army dined with me this day. He had been to Pekin with Lord McCartney.[2] He said at Pekin the dysentery was common. The heat there was in the shade 96; in the sun 110. The mercury often fell 20° in a night in the summer. Their Physicians felt the pulse, but knew nothing of its indications. They believed the arteries carried air, and that when the pulse was slow air stagnated in the vessels. Their women were more sickly and less long lived than their men, owing to their feet not admitting of walking. Madness little known there, but Idiotism more common, treated with great respect. Murder uncommon, human life valued. The integrity of the body preserved in punishment, hence strangling used by law, and exposure to cold in killing children. Maiming the body used for one crime only, viz. treason. The punishment is cutting the skin of the face at the forehead, and drawing over the eyes, nose, &c., so that the criminal may never see himself in a glass, being too bad a sight for himself to bear. One instance of suicide only, a hung merchant from the fall of £300,000 in gold dust in his hands. They inoculate by conveying dry matter upon the nose, which often erodes part of the nose.

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[1] From the muster rolls of HMS *Lion*, in which Lord Macartney's party travelled to China, we learn that this surgeon's full name was William Scott. He had been in the navy since 1778, and after his return from China seems to have been physician to an army hospital in Santo Domingo during the British occupation of 1793-1798 (information from Mrs. V. Heddon, Iver, Bucks).

[2] George Macartney (Earl Macartney), 1737-1806, was sent in 1792 as Britain's first envoy to China, in the hope of opening up commercial relations (DNB).

June 17. This day died and was buried in the city burying ground Wm. Grubber, a native African whom I bought, and liberated after he had served me 10 years. He lived with me occasionally afterwards, and after returning from sea always made my house his home. He was when I first bought his time a Drunkard and swore frequently. In a year or two he was reformed from both these vices, and became afterwards a sober, moral man and faithful and affectionate Servant. His integrity extended to trifles, and was of the most delicate nature. In a fit of sickness which I had in 1787 it was expected I should die. William refused to go to bed on the night in which he expected that event would take place, and added, "If massaw die, put me in de grave with him. He be de only friend I got in dis world." He obtained some of my hair secretly, and had it put into a ring in London, which ring he gave to one of the maids to keep for him, with an injunction "not to tell me of it."

July 24. This day for the first time waited on Mr. Latrobe,[3] whom I found to be an ingenious man. He said in the cellar of the P. Bank he found 8 old privies filled with water, and that a pump which once gave bad water in the neighbourhood now gave good.

How apt we are to mistake *means* for *ends.* Gold and silver the means of enjoyment, become objects of it. Dress, of warmth &c., the object of pride. Eating the means, not the end of life.

August 13. Visited Bartram's garden.[4] One of his sons told me that his father had 9 children, that they are all now living, the youngest

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[3] Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1764-1820, architect and engineer, born in England and educated in Germany, came to the U.S. 1796. He built the Bank of Pennsylvania, the Schuylkill water works, the Baltimore Cathedral, and as surveyor of public buildings, designed and built a substantial part of the Capitol at Washington (DAB).

[4] Bartram's garden at Kingsessing on the Schuylkill, three miles from Philadelphia, was begun in 1728. John Bartram (1699-1777) had two children by his first wife, of whom Isaac was the second, and nine by his second wife (DAB; Watson).

38 years of age. *A later entry in Rush's hand*: The father died at 84. Isaac, the —— died June —— 1801.

Burke's character of a merchant: "Gold is his God, the exchange is his church, his counting house is his altar, an invoice his Bible, and his only trust is in his banker."[5]

August 16. A poor woman who had buried 7 out of 12 children told me this day, that her trouble was so great that she forgot the days of the week.

Arthur Howell and the Revd. Mr. Ustick[6] both informed me that they had an assurance that none of their respective families should die of the yellow fever in 1793. Mr. Ustick said he had an intimation that they should be sick, which was the case.

November 16. Dr. Redman informed me that he gave the first half Joe[7] he earned to his mother, and that God had blessed him for it by never permitting him to want a half Joe since.

November 17. We are born with senses or capacities only to *earthly* objects. May there not be similar capacities dormant in our minds to *divine* objects, to be opened in a future state when not opened here?

November 24. This day met in a sick room a Mr. Switzer, a relation of Lavater's.[8] He said his relation was very eloquent in the pulpit, that he excelled like Stern [Sterne] in composing sermons full of new matter, from uncommon texts. That (although he, Mr. S., was a Deist) he was so charmed with his preaching that he could hear him ten times a day. That he had less learning than genius and that he wrote from observation and reflection, and not from books. He said he was somewhat superstitious. He added that the literature of Germany was inferior to that of England and France. That it filled the chasm left by both nations. That there was less Christianity in Germany than in France, that it was attacked there by learning, and not by wit as in France. He said his object of inquiry was the effects of civilization on moral happiness, that as yet he had made no discoveries, that the subject was a "breaker in philosophy, which perpetually beat him back."

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[5] The source of this quotation has not been identified.

[6] Arthur Howell, tanner and currier, 107 Chestnut Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1791) was a preaching Friend (Watson).

Thomas Ustick, 1753-1800, Baptist clergyman, first preached in Connecticut and was called to Philadelphia 1781 to succeed Elhanan Winchester when the latter was rejected by his Baptist congregation. Ustick gave courageous service, in close association with BR, during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 (Sprague).

[7] Half joe: a Portuguese gold coin worth about $8.81, issued from 1722 to 1835, and named from John I. In the American colonies it was called *half joe*, the joe being the dobra or double johannes (Webster's Internat. Dict.).

[8] Johann Kaspar Lavater, 1741-1801, German poet, mystic, and writer on physiognomy, was a pastor in Zürich (NBG). Switzer's relation to him has not been ascertained.

November 30. Mr. Switzer spoke of Volney, whom he knew intimately. He said he was proud and imposing in company, a great epicure and glutton. He neither spoke nor listened to conversation when he was eating. He even expanded his nostrils at Govr. Mifflin's table to inhale the effluvia of the victuals before him. (He used, it is said, to eat at his lodgings in the middle of the night.) Mr. Switzer said further that he had stolen the principal part of his "Ruins of Empire" from a work written in German by a Swiss.[9] Mr. S. despised atheists. He said prayer was so natural to man that if an atheist were confined in a dungeon one week he would call upon a god to comfort him.

December 7. Lawrence Sickle[10] at the hospital informed me that old and sickly horses recruited on his meadows by eating grass under the snow during the winter, and that they soon fattened in the spring, and had better health afterwards. 50 horses, he said, if left to graze all winter would not eat a ton of hay. He said he could tell at sight the cattle of every state in the Union, that he knew ox from cow meat as it hung up in the market, that cattle after 7 years old were most easily fattened, that the flesh at the breast of a young sheep when cut was red, of an old one white.

December 14. This day died, universally lamented, General Washington. His disease was the Cynanche Trachialis.[11] It proved fatal in

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[9] This piece of literary gossip may be left to Volney specialists, for what it is worth. Professor Gilbert Chinard suggests that the Swiss who wrote in German may have been Johann George Zimmerman, author of *Ueber die Einsamkeit*, 1756. Dr. Owsei Temkin suggests Johannes von Mueller, whose lectures on universal history, though not published when Volney wrote *The Ruins of Empire*, were well known.

[10] Lawrence Seckel, Seckle, or Sickle, was listed in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1799 as a merchant at 155 High Street; in that of 1813 he was mentioned as president of the Cattle Society. He was one of the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital 1790-1820 (Morton). The well-known Seckel pears originated from a tree, still standing in 1880, on his farm, one mile above the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill (L. H. Bailey, *Cyclopedia of Horticulture*).

[11] It is now generally thought that George Washington died of a septic sore throat. This condition was one of those covered by the comprehensively vague "cynanche trachealis" (tracheal quinsy) of the Cullen nosography. (Creighton Barker, "A Case

14 hours. He was patient and resigned in his illness. He said his will was made, his private affairs settled, and his public business but two days behind. He wished his physicians to enable him to die easy. Congress instituted public honors to his memory. The whole United States mourned for him as for a father.

December 26. A funeral Eulogium before Congress and the city by General Harry Lee. It was sensible and moderate, but was deficient in elocution and pathos.[12]

The committee for reporting what honors should be paid to the memory of G. Washington proposed the days of his birth and death to be consecrated to the end of time, and to be kept by orations and prayers. This part of the report was not made to Congress.

Funeral sermons were preached in all the churches. Notice was taken of his death even in the Quaker meeting by Is. Potts, who called him "the great Occidental political luminary."[13]

[1800]

January 31. Mrs. Mullen,[14] an old and intelligent nurse, told me she had often observed children to be more afflicted with the belly ache in stormy weather than at other times, and that boys were more afflicted with it than girls.

February 14. Nichs. Deihle[15] informed me that he had a mare that lived to be 35 years old, and bore a colt 3 years before she died. That

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History," *Yale Jour. Biol. Med.*, 1936, IX, 188.) The events surrounding the illness are well discussed by J. H. Mason Knox, "The Medical History of George Washington, his Physicians, Friends and Advisers," *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hospital*, 1933, LII (Suppl.), 174. There is no doubt that the doctors bled too freely. In view of the fact that BR generally gets all the blame for having instigated the excessive bleeding of the period, it is interesting to note that Dr. Elisha Dick, the only one of the three attending physicians who had been a pupil of BR's, was opposed to the later venesections in this case.

[12] Harry Lee's oration contained the famous words "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen," originally used a few days before in the resolutions voted by Congress on Washington's death, which were written by Lee although they were offered by John Marshall.

[13] Isaac Potts, ca. 1751-1803, was a Quaker minister of Cheltenham, Montgomery Co., Pennsylvania (obituary notice in *Philadelphia Repository*, 1803).

The point of this quotation is that the pacifistic Quakers could honor Washington only as a civic hero, not as a soldier.

[14] Martha Mullen, back of 101 North Third Street, was listed under *Nurses* in the *New Trade Directory of Philadelphia for 1800*, published 1799.

[15] Nicholas Diehl, 91 Race Street; Diehl, Nicholas & Co., merchants, 127 North Water Street (Philadelphia *Directories* 1799-1803).

she had 15 colts in all, all mares. He said that in driving 200 cattle into Pennsylvania from Maryland they all went into a cold spring (July). 60 of them died on the same day, the rest were sick for 6 weeks, and recovered with eruptions all over their bodies. The same from cold bath, see Sir Jno. Floyer.[16]

April 20. Heard Dr. Coke preach at Richd. Allen's church on these words: "We have received of his fulness grace for grace." I afterwards drank tea with him at Richd. Allen's. He said there were 100,000 methodists in connection in Ireland, 17,000 in England, and 12,000 blacks in the West Indies, "whom we are not ashamed," he said, "to call our brethren."

He breakfasted with me on the Thursday following, with a minister of the name of Seargant.[17] He was sensible and entertaining in conversation. After breakfast he proposed to pray. To this we readily consented. His prayer was connected and pertinent.

April 29. A black woman of the name of Ruth, who once lived with an old friend of mine, En'h. David,[18] called upon me this morning on business while I was at Breakfast. She was desired to sit down in my study. When I came to her, after some conversation she said, the first thing that struck her in my study was, "Here is *time, place*, and *opportunity* to worship God."

Died Mrs. Allen,[19] once the Belle of Philadelphia. She made one of her physicians declare a few days before she died upon his honor that she was not dying.

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[16] Sir John Floyer, 1649-1734, physician of Litchfield, published in 1697 a book on the medical use of baths that became very popular and was republished in several editions, 1706-1732, under the title *ψυχρολουσια, or The History of Cold Bathing, with additions by Dr. Edward Baynard.*

[17] Thomas Frazer Sargent, 1776-1833, Methodist preacher, was at various times in his life in charge of circuits in Talbot and Kent Counties, Md., Philadelphia and Carlisle, Pa., Boston, Marblehead, Mass., and New York City. With BR's encouragement he began to study medicine in 1803. After 5 years in Baltimore he resumed medical studies, 1809-12, and spent the next 19 years in Philadelphia practising medicine and serving as local preacher and manager of the Bible Society (Sprague).

[18] The name is written En^h David. An Enoch David was commissioned justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1765 (Martin). A house carpenter of the same name was listed in the Philadelphia *Directories*, 1785-1794.

[19] This was presumably Elizabeth Lawrence Allen Laurance, b. 1750. She married James Allen, son of Chief Justice William Allen, who died in 1778, "leaving a beautiful widow aged 27 and 3 daughters. When her days of mourning were over, her house was described as one of the most popular in the city" (Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *Social Life in the Early Republic*, Philadelphia, 1902). In 1791 Mrs. Allen married John Laurance of New York, lawyer and Congressman.

May 2. Died Tench Francis,[20] aged 68. He used to say that all poor men were Rascals, that he hated "a good man," also that he always avoided his friends when they were sick, for he "hated everything that was related to death." He once threatened to cane a sexton for inviting him to a funeral.

May 17. This morning my dear and always beloved daughter, Emily Cuthbert, left me with her husband and child to go to Canada, where she is to reside.[21] She wept, as did all the servants in my family. My wife and daughter attended her to New York. My daughter Emily had never once offended me, nor did I ever speak an angry or harsh word to her. Her very infancy and childhood were marked with uncommon gentleness and goodness.

June 3. Mr. Sharpless, the painter,[22] breakfasted and dined with me. He said the best time to sit for a picture was between breakfast and dinner, that a turn for painting and mechanics were related, that when the French sailors raise an anchor one of the ship's officers stands by them and repeats every now and then the name of a great man.

Dr. McIlvaine informed me [that he] cut 22 tons of hay last year from 4 acres. He ploughs stable manure in and sprinkles ashes and plaster of Paris on the ground.

June 20. Mr. Campbell[23] of New York said he believed Infants would rise and reign with Christ, particularly those Infants killed by Herod. They were, he said, martyrs, and those who suffered with Christ we are told were to reign with him.

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[20] Tench Francis, 1730-1800, son of the eminent lawyer of the same name (d. 1758), and uncle of the Tench Francis who is mentioned later (p. 276) is said to have been for many years agent of the Penn family in the U.S. and first cashier of the Bank of the United States (Henry Simpson, *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased*, Philadelphia, 1859).

[21] She had married the Honorable Ross Cuthbert of the Seignory of Lanoraie on the St. Lawrence near Berthier, Quebec (See Appendix 3).

[22] James Sharples, 1751-1811, English portrait painter, resided in Philadelphia, 1796-1798, where he, his wife and his young sons drew and painted portraits of many of the notable people (DAB).

"James and Ellen Sharples painted several portraits of Rush. There is a pastel portrait in Independence Hall, another in the Bristol, England, Art Gallery, and a head of Rush in the Royal West of England Academy, Bristol" (Katharine McC. Knox, *The Sharples, Their Portraits of George Washington and his Contemporaries*, New Haven, 1930).

[23] Possibly Joseph Campbell (later D.D.), 1776-1840, who was at this time a schoolmaster at Cranbury, New Jersey, afterward pastor at Hackettstown (Sprague).

In a more perfect state of the Church, Christians will look back and wonder that true piety could ever have existed as it now does with so much error and sin as now appear in the best of men.

June 20. Jno. Montgomery[24] (my sister's son) called to see me with a Lieutenant's uniform. He had been just disbanded. His conversation was improper, rude, &c.

July 25. Capt. Ashmead[25] informed me that he had been married 40 years, and had spent but 10 of them with his family. The remaining 30 he had passed at sea. He was a fond father and husband, and happy at home.

August 1. Sam Bayard[26] informed me that there had been 24 instances of suicide in New York in and since last spring, 3 of whom were servant girls, one in consequence of being rebuked by her mistress.

Epitaph for Capt. Jno. Ashmead, composed by himself:

"In life's hard battle on the troubled seas
Through many storms and many a prosperous breeze,
Through winter's blasts and summer's sultry sun,
From frigid, to the torrid zones I've run.
In ninety voyages, through unnumbered toils,
I've sailed above 500,000 miles,
Been taken, foundered, and oft cast away,
Yet weathered all in this *close port* to lay,
Where a *dead* calm my weary bark doth find
Obliged to anchor for the want of *wind*."

August 23. Dr. Dow[27] from Orleans breakfasted with me. He was on his way to Scotland after an absence of 23 years. He said at Orleans the natives and old settlers who went out of town and came in again took the yellow fever last year, but no other natives or old settlers. He said diseases of the skin were very common in Orleans. He told me Don Galvez,[28] the Governor of Florida, made it a practice to retire when he was angry, and drink a bottle of Claret to compose his body and mind.

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[24] John Montgomery, b. 1771, was the only son of Rev. Joseph Montgomery and BR's sister Rachel. He is said to have been postmaster of Harrisburg, Pa., from 1791 to 1793 (J. M. Forster, *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Montgomery*, Harrisburg, 1879).

[25] John Ashmead, Mariner, 58 Union Street, appears in the Philadelphia *Directories* of 1791-1795. This is perhaps the man of that name who married BR's paternal aunt, Ann Rush (born ca. 1726; see Biddle, pp. 227, 229).

[26] For Samuel Bayard, see p. 277, note 6.

[27] Robert Dow was evidently a man of some prominence in New Orleans. He was appointed to the first board of administrators of the Charity Hospital when it was organized in 1811, and in 1816 he was accepted by the Comité Médicale, an examining board set up by law for the purpose of eliminating incompetent physicians (personal communication, Dr. Harold Cummins).

October 7. In the years 1755-6 my brother began to learn the languages with four classmates, 3 of whom died before 1792, the 4th about 1773. He is now the only survivor of his class. In the same years I was in a class with Eben. Hazard, Wm. Williams, Alexr. Huston, Jno. Archer, Joseph Alexander, Thomas Ruston, and Charles Cummins, *all* of whom except Huston are *now* living. *A later entry in Rush's hand*: Ruston died about 1804, and Williams in 1807.[29]

September 14. sent with water melons to the new jail:
Dr. Rush requests the prisoners now confined for the benefit of their morals to accept of some water melons. He begs that in receiving them they would consider that their merciful Creator by disposing one of his creatures to remember them in their present bonds discovers himself still to be their friend and Benefactor, and ready to receive them into his favor upon repentance and amendment of their lives.

[1801]

January 17. This day saw Dr. Priestley, now in his 68th year, lively and entertaining. He said Dr. Heberden[30] was his particular friend, that he was very charitable, that he sent him yearly £20 a year to assist in conducting his experiments, that he had given himself wholly to religious inquiries and charities, and once said to a friend that after all he gave away he was afraid he should die "shamefully rich." Dr. P. said Mr. Westley used to say if he died worth more than £20/0/0 (enough to bury him) he would give the world leave to call him an "imposter."

February 12. This day Dr. Priestley dined with me. He said his memory was so defective that he forgot not only what he had published, but what he had written two weeks before for the press, although the subject of it required a good deal of investigation.

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[28] Don Bernardo de Galvez, 1746-1786, captain general of Louisiana and Florida under the Spanish rule (DAB).

[29] Alexander Huston's name is inserted above the others, as an afterthought. It was not included by BR in the list of his West Nottingham classmates in *Travels Through Life* (p. 34) which was written at very nearly the same time as this entry. Nothing is known about Huston except that a youth of this name entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1768 (*History of the University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1900).

All the others are identified on p. 34.

[30] William Heberden, 1710-1801, distinguished physician, classical scholar and medical writer of London (DNB).

February 20. This day Mrs. Adams dined with my family on her return from the federal city to Braintree.

March. Saw Dr. Priestley often this month, and attended him in a severe pleurisy. His conversation was always instructing. The following are the principal ideas collected from it:

1. He had no opinion of those commentaries on the prophecies which fixed the time of our Saviour's coming. That time was known only to God.

2. He once attended a friend on his death bed. He squeezed his hand and said, "Take care of my name when I am gone. Don't let them tear me to pieces."

3. Sir Chrisr. Wren upon seeing the citizens of London about to rebuild London as closely as before the great fire said, "You do not deserve such a fire."

4. He received in legacies £2000, £500 and £100 from three different people since his arrival in America.

5. He said (from the authority of Dr. Aiken) that Dr. Doddridge had once invited Dr. Forster,[31] the Socinian, to preach for him in Northhampton, and afterwards denied it in London. He confessed his want of veracity to Dr. Aiken years afterwards with tears.

6. In his sickness he said he was "content and thankful." He was comforted by his son reading in the psalms to him, and his son's wife in the book of Deuteronomy, which book he greatly admired. He once in his sickness spoke of his 2nd son to me (Wm), and wept very much.[32]

7. He once went to breakfast with Sir George Saville.[33] Sir George got up late, and said his head ached from sitting up 'till 2 o'clock in the House of Commons, "a dreadful place," he said, "to make havoc of the soul and body of man." He said Sir George was upon the whole

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[31] John Aikin, 1713-1780, fellow tutor with Priestley at Warrington Academy, Lancashire, the cradle of Unitarianism (DNB).

"Dr. Forster" was presumably James Foster, D.D., 1697-1753, an unorthodox divine (DNB).

[32] William Priestley, second son of the philosopher, was naturalized a French citizen and was admitted to the bar in Paris. He emigrated later to Louisiana. His conduct, in some unspecified way unfilial, was the cause of much sorrow to Joseph Priestley (DAB; DNB; *Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley, by Himself*, 1806).

[33] Sir George Savile, 1726-1784, was a member of the House of Commons for 24 years; he was a staunch Whig, greatly respected for his integrity and parliamentary ability (DNB).

honest, but never but once left his party on any question. It is considered as the only immorality for a man to leave his party in England. Mr. Adams once gave me the same information.

8. He told me Dr. Franklin always wrote down his arguments or reason for or against any measure before he decided on it, and carefully viewed his papers, &c.

August 29. The Revd. Dr. Willard[34] dined with me. He is President of Cambridge College. He said it appeared from Mr. Whitefield's private journal that he had preached 18,000 sermons in the course of his life.

September 4. Amos Taylor[35] died this day of suicide by a rope. He had been unsuccessful in speculation.

Visited Dr. Hall at the Lazaretto in apparently the last stages of a chronic disease from strong drink. Returned September 5th with Dr. James,[36] whom I found a pleasant and agreeable companion. He had been studying the controversy between the deists and Christians, and between the Calvinists and Universalists. He acknowledged himself a firm believer in the Christian Religion, and disposed to believe in final restitution.

September 5. My wife and youngest child went into Jersey with the Revd. Mr. Hunter.[37]

Waited on Jno. Quincy Adams and Lady, who arrived yesterday from Hamburgh.[38] He had been absent 7 years from the United States, and had been chiefly in Berlin, which he said contains 150,000 inhabitants. The country around it was poor but well cultivated. Grease substituted for butter. Theft uncommon, but some vices very common.

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[34] Joseph Willard, 1738-1804, president of Harvard College 1781-1804, was also secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and as such was widely acquainted with scientists and men of letters. He was himself an astronomer and mathematician (DAB).

[35] Amos A. Taylor, merchant, 28 Race Street, appears in the Philadelphia *Directories* of 1798 and 1800, but not later.

[36] Presumably Thomas Chalkley James, 1766-1835, son of the merchant Abel James. He was an apprentice of Adam Kuhn, studied at London and Edinburgh, and became an eminent obstetrician in Philadelphia, the first to hold a separate chair of obstetrics at the University of Pennsylvania (DAB).

[37] The Reverend Andrew Hunter, ?-1823, a Presbyterian minister, had married a sister of Julia Stockton Rush. At this time he was a school teacher at Woodbury, N.J., and a trustee of the College of New Jersey where he afterward became a professor (S. D. Alexander, *Princeton College During the 18th Century*, New York, 1872).

[38] John Quincy Adams was appointed minister to The Hague in 1794 and to Berlin in 1797. He was recalled in 1801 when the Republicans obtained power.

The late Frederick II he said was still idolized as a Demigod. He had two looks out of his eyes, one of sternness, the other of fascination. With the last he won his enemies.

September 7. They drank coffee with me at Sydenham.[39]

September 10. They dined with me, with Geo. Clymer, Thos. Adams,[40] Dr. Cox,[41] and Thos. Biddle.[42] Mr. J. Q. Adams was very entertaining. He said reading was universal in Prussia, that there were 10,000 men who lived by book-making, and 300 new novels published in Germany every year. That the Prussian Army consisted of 240,000 men, that the common soldiers suffered so much from discipline &c. as often to kill themselves. That intemperance in eating was very common, that 6 persons had died at table while he was in Berlin of apoplexy, and one at a dance, a young man of 21, from too tight cloathes, especially a cravat tied round his neck by his servant. That nothing was spoken but French in all polite circles. That he had known the cold 15° below 0 once at Berlin. That all their rooms were heated by ornamented stoves, and that by confining the heat they used but little fuel, two fires a day being sufficient.

Last night an attempt was made to break open our country house. The kitchen of the house was broken open on the previous Saturday, and the gardiner's cloathes stolen from his chest.

Gave 18/9 to the keeper of the Jail to purchase a mess of Indian Corn for the criminals of both sexes. (*September 4, 1802*, repeated it).

September 13. Visited Dr. Hall at the Lazaretto, where I met Wm. Savery, who visited the Doctor with me and gave him a pertinent exhortation suited to his apparently dying condition. Mr. Savery informed me that he and Geo. Dilwyn[43] had spent half an hour about two years ago in the company of George the 3rd and his family. He said he had more knowledge than was generally believed, that he asked many questions relative to the affairs of Germany and France (where Mr. Savery had been) and of America. When Mr. S. said the connection between the United States and Britain was a natural one from the sameness of religion, language, &c., and that he hoped it would always continue, he said, "God grant it." He asked if he had seen the ruins of the city of Lyons. He said yes, and that 30,000 people had been destroyed there during the war. He cried out to his queen, "Hear this, Charlotte." "Oh, said the queen, I have heard enough of it, I can't bear to hear any more about it."

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[39] Sydenham was the name of a small farm belonging to Mrs. Benjamin Rush, at what is now the intersection of Fifteenth Street and Columbia Avenue (Biddle, p. 240).

[40] Thomas Boylston Adams, 1772-1832 (brother of John Quincy Adams), who had been secretary of legation at Berlin, had now settled in Philadelphia where he was practising law.

[41] John Redman Coxe, 1773-1864, grandson of BR's preceptor John Redman, began his training in Edinburgh and London, but became an apprentice of BR and was at his side throughout the epidemic of 1793. He became a notable physician and medical editor in Philadelphia (DAB).

[42] Probably Thomas Biddle, 1776-1857, son of Clement Biddle. He was a prominent banker, founder of the house of Thomas A. Biddle and Company. His son Alexander married BR's granddaughter Julia, daughter of Samuel R. (see Appendix 3; genealogical notes appended to *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, ed. by J. S. Biddle, Philadelphia, 1883). A descendant of theirs, Louis Alexander Biddle, owned and privately printed in 1905 the manuscripts of *Travels Through Life* and *Commonplace Book, 1792-1813*.

September 17. Died my old and once valued pupil Dr. Hall.

September 18. Attended the funeral of Geo. Roberts[44] from his Seat at Point No Point. Julia and Sam Rush accompanied me. Saml. Coates rode home with us in the funeral procession.

September 21. The Revd. Mr. Bend and wife[45] of Baltimore dined with me.

October, about the 19th. Mr. Longbottom,[46] a Dentist from Jamaica, breakfasted with me.

October 25. Dr. Tidyman and wife and Dr. Blithe[47] and ditto drank

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[43] William Savery, 1750-1804, a master tanner, became a celebrated Quaker preacher, and travelled widely on religious missions in Great Britain and Europe (DAB).

George Dillwyn, 1738-1820, a Quaker preacher who travelled widely in Britain and Europe 1784-1791, settled in England from 1793 to 1802, returning thereafter to Burlington, N.J. (James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, II, London, 1854).

[44] George Roberts, ca.1737-1801, a wealthy Philadelphian, at one time an alderman, was secretary of the American Philosophical Society in 1770.

[45] Joseph Grove John Bend, 1762-1812, trained for business, began his church career as assistant pastor of the "United Churches" (Christ and St. Peter's) of Philadelphia and was then sent by Bishop White to be rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore and to reform its finances. He became a useful and prominent figure in the diocese of Maryland, of which he was treasurer. Mrs. Bend, née Mary Hatfield, was a daughter of Mary Boudinot H., sister of Elias Boudinot and Annis Boudinot Stockton. Hence she was a first cousin of Mrs. Benjamin Rush (Arthur B. Kinsolving, *A Short History of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland 1692-1939*: J. J. Boudinot, *Life of Elias Boudinot*, Philadelphia, 1896).

[46] Nothing more has been learned about Mr. Longbottom.

[47] Philip Tidyman, 1777-1850, studied medicine at Göttingen and became a prominent physician of Charleston. He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1825.

Joseph Blyth of Georgetown, S.C., was a regimental surgeon in the Revolutionary tea with us. The former Doctor had just returned from a 15 years' absence in Europe to South Carolina, his native State. Dr. B. was an old pupil of mine. Revd. Mr. Murray of Boston came in and sat with us two hours after tea.

[1802]

February. Three instances of suicide have occurred within the last month in this city. One a man of the name of Fullarton from being hissed off the stage.[48]

February 1. Heard the Revd. Jno. Leland[49] of Massachusetts preach in the Baptist Church. His text was Leviticus, Chap. verse . He began, "My text is from the Old Testament, but I will give you a New Testament sermon. He said he could not sin *cheap*, death was a great nothing, good men thought the road to heaven wide enough. He was (he said) so imprudent he never passed an hour nor preached a sermon without doing or saying something he was sorry for. His memory was wonderful. He repeated in the evening all the 42 places at which the Children of Israel encamped in going from Egypt to Canaan.

February 4. Received a visit from Dr. Watson,[50] just returned from Spain. He was full of anecdotes of Spain and France. Madrid 200,000 inhabitants, no suburbs or country Seats. Bonaparte a small man, quick in his motions, nearly runs in the streets, and gallops in riding.

March 4. Butter preserved for years by melting and skimming it. The scum is mucilage (Mrs. Edwards).

Butter is sweetest and keeps best when cattle feed on low and natural grass (Mrs. Salter).

Fat in cattle most solid and fittest for candles in summer from grass (Dr. Rowan).[51]

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army (J. M. Toner, *Medical Men in the American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1876). He was a trustee of South Carolina College, and served in the state legislature (personal communication, Dr. J. I. Waring, Charleston).

[48] No contemporary notice of this man's death has been found.

[49] John Leland, 1754-1841, a Baptist clergyman, resided at Cheshire, Mass. He was active in politics as advocate of religious and political liberalism. An ardent follower of Jefferson, he travelled to Washington in 1801 with a mammoth cheese as a gift to the President from the inhabitants of the town of Cheshire (DAB).

[50] Who Dr. Watson was and what he was doing in Spain, have not been ascertained.

[51] There were many Edwardses in the Philadelphia *Directory* for 1802; maybe

March 6. This day the College of New Jersey was burnt to the ground.[52]

During this month I was called upon to assist Robt. Smith[53] in getting subscriptions to rebuild the College. We got 600 Dollars in three days. We saw an old German woman in our walk in Filbert Street between 7th and 8th Streets, who was said to be above 100 years old. She remembered Wm. Penn. She lived in a poor hovel with three dogs upon a lot which was her own. I asked her if she had a will by her. She said no, she did not think she was near dying. She hoped to live an hundred years longer, for her father, she said, was then living in Germany, and was between 2 and 300 years old. A similar instance of folly and self-deception occurred in T. F - - n - - s[54] in his last illness. Upon being advised to settle his affairs, he said he did not think it certain he should die at *any* time. Upon being told that death was the portion of all mankind, "Yes, that was the case formerly, (he said), but there may be new orders and I may yet be exempted from dying, and live forever in this world."

Many failures among the merchants of Philadelphia during the last winter.

March 8. Last night I dreamed of reflecting upon the general neglect with which the tales and complaints of madmen are treated, when the following sentence occurred to me:

> —"His words of woe serve but to swell
> the proud periods of the poet's verse."

I had eleven schoolmates at Dr. Finley's school from Accomack County in Virginia and Somerset County in Maryland, 10 of whom

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the information about butter came from Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, who kept a boarding house on Front Street, or from the wife of Griffith Edwards the grocer at 72 High (Market) Street. Which Mrs. Salter this was is even less subject to conjecture. The doctor's name is obscurely written; it is Rowan or Ronan. A Thomas Rowan published a dissertation on fever in Philadelphia in 1802.

[52] The fire destroyed all of Nassau Hall except the outer walls. The Presbyterian General Assembly made an appeal through all the churches, and the fund raised, amounting to $40,000, was enough to restore the hall and to add several new buildings (*Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial . . . of Princeton University*, New York, 1898).

[53] Robert Smith, a prominent merchant, had a country place, "Oaklands," near Frankford. He was active in the affairs of the Insurance Company of North America and was a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital 1798-1805 (*Memoir of Charles N. Buck*, Philadelphia, 1941).

[54] Presumably Tench Francis, the second; see the mention of his death in 1800, p. 251.

are now dead. The last who died was Thos. King of Somerset,[55] aged 57. The only survivor is Dr. Willm. Williams of Accomack. March 8, 1802. *A later entry in Rush's hand*: He died in 1807.[56]

July 7. This day died my excellent friend Mrs. R. Smith.[57] The following extract from a newspaper contains her true character:

"Friday, July 9, 1802. Died universally lamented on Wednesday morning near Frankford, in the 42nd year of her age, Mrs. Rebecca Smith, wife of Mr. Robert Smith, merchant of this city. A mind elevated by nature, education, and religion, rendered this excellent woman an object of uncommon respect and esteem to all who knew her. She lived to a numerous family as if she had no obligations to society, and she lived to society, as if she had no family. Such was the modest and private use she made of the talents and virtues with which heaven had endowed her, that their benevolent application was seldom known, except by accident, to her most intimate friends. During a tedious and distressing illness there was no departure in impatience or complaint, from the natural propriety and dignity of her character. With every comfort and tie to life that could make it desirable, she met the approach of death with composure, and resigned her breath, with a full reliance upon the merits of a Redeemer for her future happiness."

September 3. This day John Blakely[58] in a fit of derangement jumped out of his window and destroyed himself. He was very wealthy, had no family, was inoffensive, lived penuriously, but did kind and charitable actions to particular friends.

December 9. Dined this day at Capt. Manly's[59] with three methodist ministers, viz. Mr. Cooper, Mr. McGlaskey, and a Mr. Kirk.[60] The last an Irishman now of New York, told me a Mr. Pickering, a gentleman of eminent piety in Dublin,[61] had told him that Mr. Jno. Westley had acknowledged to him not long before he died that he believed in final Restitution, also in the resurrection of some of the Brute Creation. Mr. Pickering asked him, "Why, then, don't you preach the doctrine of final Restitution?" He told him that he had hinted at it in London among his friends, but they did not relish it, and he was afraid by publishing it he might injure his usefulness. Mr. Kirk said further that Mr. Westley had in the course of his life written and published 200 octavo volumes, and that for many years he wrote 4000 letters, preached 800 times, and rode 8000 miles in every year.

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[55] Thomas King, ca.1745-1802, member of a staunch Presbyterian family of Somerset Co. on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, inherited as a child from his grandfather, Col. Robert King, extensive lands at the head of the Annamessex River. His great manor house, still standing, was named Kingston Hall. He was for many years prominent in the Session of Manokin Church (Wilson-Miles-Cary manuscript collection; Sessional Record of Manokin Presbyterian Church, Somerset County. Both the foregoing documents are at the Maryland Historical Society. See also *Old Somerset*, by Clayton Torrence, Richmond, Va., 1935).

[56] As previously mentioned, Dr. William Williams died in 1804.

[57] Mrs. Robert Smith, second wife of the merchant (see note 53) was a sister of John Hobart, who became bishop of New York (*Memoir of Charles N. Buck*, Philadelphia, 1941).

[58] John Blakely, attorney at law, Chestnut Street, was listed in the 1799 and 1802 Philadelphia *Directories* but not in that of 1803.

[59] Presumably Capt. Manly was the Henry Manly mentioned later, p. 324; there was no other man of that name in the *Directories*, 1792-1803. Henry Manly was a dealer in shoes at 40 High (Market) Street.

Mr. G-----d,[62] a merchant, from small beginnings became immensely rich. In this elevated situation he punished a captain whom he forbad to bring anything from Calcutta on his account by dismissing him for his service for only bringing a present for a Lady to whom he was engaged, in a handkerchief. He insulted a worthy and sensible man for only hinting his advice to him how to get one of his ships off the stocks, and gave an abrupt answer to a respectable citizen who asked him what he was going to do with some boards he was hauling to one of his lots. *Men will be gods!*

December 11. This day my son John resumed the study of medicine. So anxious was he to return to my house and business that he said "he would supply the place of one of my men servants, and even clean my stable rather than continue to follow a sea life."[63]

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[60] Ezekiel Cooper, 1763-1847, a Marylander brought up in the Anglican church, became a vigorous and devoted Methodist itinerant preacher and a leader in church affairs. He was a strong anti-slavery man (DAB). He was resident in Philadelphia at this time (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1802) and was superintendent of the Methodist Printing and Book Concern.

John McClaskey, 1756-1814, born in Ireland, entered the Methodist ministry in 1782. He was preacher on various circuits in New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and was at various times presiding elder of the Philadelphia, New Jersey, and New York conferences. At the time of this gathering he was stationed in Philadelphia. He was a man of fine presence, a good preacher and respected counsellor (Sprague).

Mr. Kirk's name does not appear in *Minutes of the Methodist Conference from 1783 to 1803*, New York, 1813.

[61] Mr. Pickering has not been identified; he is not mentioned in John Wesley's diaries in connection with the latter's visits to Dublin.

[62] This entry no doubt refers to Stephen Girard, 1750-1831, the great merchant.

[63] See Appendix 3.

[1803]

January 4.[64] This day met the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital with all the physicians (excepting Dr. Barton) and proposed to them (1) to grant us a man of education to superintend the Lunatics, to walk with them, converse with them, &c., in order to awaken and regulate their minds. (2) to finish the operation room, for which we offered them 300 Dollars a year of the book fund. (3) to give us a moveable Vapor Bath. We assented at the time to their adding lying-in wards to the present institution.

A Thought. We never acquire knowledge to direct our conduct from history nor from Biography, nor from the experience of other people, nor even from our experience, unless repeated two or three times.

February. Prevented a duel between my pupil, John Wooten, and Danl. Wilson,[65] by informing Alderman Robt. Wharton of it, who between 11 and 12 o'clock arrested them and bound them over to their good behaviour.

April 18. This morning at 3 o'clock died of a consumption the Revd. Thomas Ustick, minister of the Baptist Church, an amiable, inoffensive man, a sincere Christian, and faithful minister of the Gospel. He was my warm and constant friend.

May 14. Died this day at 4 o'clock the Revd. Dr. Wm. Smith, formerly Provost of the College of Philadelphia, in the 77th year of his age, being 76 on the 20th of the preceding April. This man's life and Character would fill a Volume.[66] He was a native of Scotland,

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[64] This entry is dated 1802 in the ms., but the obviously correct dating 1803 is confirmed by an entry in the records of the Pennsylvania Hospital (Morton).

[65] John Wooton, 1782-1840, of Montgomery Co., Maryland, became BR's apprentice in November 1799 (Ms. List of Apprentices) and practised at Rockville. He was elected to the state senate in 1821 (*Niles Weekly Register*, Sept. 22). He wrote extensively for medical journals (E. F. Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1903; G. N. MacKensie, *Colonial Families of America*, II, Baltimore, 1911).

Daniel Wilson of Richmond, Virginia, was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania medical school in 1803. His dissertation was dedicated to his brother Thomas and to BR. He was living in Richmond in 1805 (*Richmond Daily Inquirer*, April 19) but no later record has been found.

[66] William Smith, D.D., 1727-1803, was no doubt as faulty a character as BR says, yet this portrait of him in his older years ought not to be read without a thought also of his lifelong services to education (especially in the founding of what is now the University of Pennsylvania and of Washington College, Chestertown, Md.), to the Episcopal Church (of which he almost became a bishop) and to the literary and scholarly development of colonial Philadelphia. See DAB for his career.

and arrived in Philadelphia above 50 years ago, and for many years made a distinguished figure in the politicks of Pennsylvania. He possessed genius, taste, and learning. As a teacher he was perspicuous and agreeable, and as a preacher solemn, eloquent, and expressive in a high degree. Unhappily his conduct in all his relations and situations was opposed to his talents and profession. His person was slovenly, and his manners awkward and often offensive in company. In the duties he owed to his College he was deficient, insomuch that a person who knew him well, upon being asked where he should find Dr. Smith answered, "Anywhere but at the College." His time and talents were principally devoted to acquiring property by taking up new lands. For these he exposed himself to cold, heat, and dangers of various kinds, and for these he often made sacrifices, it is said, of conscience and reputation. A single act will illustrate this part of his character. He had acquired a grant from Mr. Penn to a tract of land which had been occupied for many years. To acquire a title to it, it was necessary he should survey it. The person who lived on it declared if he attempted to carry a chain round it he would shoot him. The Doctor gave out that he should preach in the neighbourhood of this person on a certain day. He went with his family to hear him, and while he was from home the Doctor had the land surveyed without interruption by men whom he had previously hired for that purpose. From spending his time in the woods, and in that kind of company to which his land pursuits led him, he early contracted a love for strong drink, and became towards the close of his life an habitual drunkard. He was often seen to reel, and once to fall, in the streets of Philadelphia. His temper was irritable in the highest degree, and when angry he swore in the most extravagant manner. He seldom paid a debt without being sued or without a quarrel. He was extremely avaricious, and lived, after acquiring an estate of £50,000, in penury and filth at a country house he built when a young man at the falls of Skuilkill. In this retired situation he passed the last ten years of his life under the direction and influence of a German girl who it was said not only robbed him, but often treated him with neglect and insult. He had three sons and one daughter, to whom he acted generously in donations of property, but whom he treated so rudely that they avoided his society as much as possible. After he passed his 70th year he made several excursions into the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in order to view and settle his lands. The leisure from his worldly pursuits during the last two years of his life was employed in preparing several volumes of sermons for the press. In proportion as his health declined he detached himself from this employment and applied himself wholly to the settlement of his affairs. After his sickness confined him to his bed, he received the Communion and said to Dr. Blackwell upon a review of his life he saw nothing to reproach himself with but "having been a little too irritable in his temper," and to me he said, "Had I to live my life over again, I would never take up lands in partnership with anybody." This appeared to be the only error he deplored in his conduct in the course of his long journey through life. On his death bed he never spoke upon any subject connected with Religion nor his future state, nor was there a Bible or prayer book ever seen in his room. His bed was surrounded with trunks of papers, and his constant employment consisted in opening and reading them. When he was unable to read them from the weakness of his eyesight, he had them strewed upon the bed and gazed upon them. After he lost his sight he called for his papers. His nurse put two old papers upon a medical subject into his hands, with which he amused himself about an hour before he died. Sometimes he obliged his son to read descriptions of his lands to him while he lay on his death bed, and so familiar were they to him that he corrected his son's reading when he mistook a single perch. During his illness he swore often at his nurses (for he had 3 in succession), at his son, and once at his physician. This might be ascribed to delirium or imbecility of mind, were it not too notorious that he was an habitual swearer in the most healthy period of his life. That his conduct in life should want no folly, he courted an accomplished and excellent woman about a year before he died, and urged his suit by a promise to make a handsome settlement upon her. She refused his offer in a manner that became her character. With this deficiency of virtue he possessed great influence in society, acquired by industry, perseverance, and flattery, also by threats when he dared to use them. It was a favorite maxim with him that to gain mankind it was necessary not to respect them, and he often boasted that he had never failed in any of his enterprizes. In reviewing the character of this man we are struck with the great contrariety of his morals to his religious principles. But the character is not a new one. From the writings of St. Paul it is evident it is possible "to hold the truth in unrighteousness."[67] He descended to his grave (which he had formed for himself in a mausoleum on a country seat which he left to the

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[67] Romans 1, 18.

Church) without being lamented by a human creature. From the absence of all his children, not a drop of kindred blood attended his funeral. It was remarkable, with all his attachment to this world, he often spoke of his death, funeral, and grave. In one fit of his asthma which threatened his dissolution, he sent to his brother's wife for a shroud. I once asked him what his prospects hereafter were? He answered he had no doubt of being happy, and that he dreaded only the pains of dying. He said jocularly he hoped death would not give him a hard squeeze, for he had never been his enemy, having seldom even preached against him. His self-deception appeared further in a note he once sent me in a violent fit of his disease: "Come and see a resigned Christian die." In a visit I paid him the day but one before he died, he complained of my leaving him too soon, and then in angry tone said, "By the L—— G——, if you don't stay longer with me I will send for another Doctor," and instantly afterwards d——d his nurse who sat by him. From a review of the facts here stated—and hundreds more of a similar nature might be mentioned—he appears to have been a nondescript in the history of man.

Thoughts on VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Men who differ (though right in all their opinions) from the age or people in and among which they live suffer from their singularity just as men do in a city whose watches go correctly with the sun, while all the other watches in the city go with an old and erroneous town clock.

[*Rush made no further entries under this heading, and afterward used the rest of the page and the two following for the Questions to Lewis.*]

Questions to MERRYWEATHER LEWIS[68] before he went up the Missouri

I. *Physical history and medicine.*

1. What are the acute diseases of the Indians? Is the bilious fever ever attended with a black vomit?

2. Is apoplexy, palsy, epilepsy, madness, rheum[atic] disease, goitre, known among them?

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[68] Meriwether Lewis, 1774-1807, Thomas Jefferson's private secretary, was chosen by him as co-leader of the exploring party, since known as the Lewis and Clark expedition. On Feb. 28, 1803, Jefferson wrote to BR:

"I wish to mention to you in confidence that I have obtained authority from Congress to undertake the long desired object of exploring the Missouri and whatever

3. What is the state of life as to longevity? At what age do the women *begin* and *cease* to menstruate?

4. At what age do they marry? How long do they suckle the children? What is the provision of their children after being weaned?

5. The state of the pulse as to *frequency* in the morning, at noon, and at night, before and after eating?

6. What is its state in childhood, adult life, and old age? Is it ever subject to intermissions? The number of strokes counted by the quarter of a minute by glass, and multiplied by four will give its frequency in a minute.

7. What are their remedies?

8. Are artificial discharges of blood ever used among them?

9. In what manner do they induce sweating? Do they ever use voluntary fasting? At what time do they use their baths?

10. What is the diet, manner of cooking, and times of eating among the Indians? How do they preserve their food?

II. *Morals.*

1. What are their vices?

2. Is suicide common among them? Ever from love?

3. Do they employ any substitute for ardent spirits to promote intoxication?

4. Is murder common among them, and do they punish it with death?

III. *Religion.*

1. What affinity between their religious ceremonies and those of the Jews?[69]

2. Do they use animal sacrifices in their worship?

3. What are the principal objects of their worship?

4. How do they dispose of their dead, and with what ceremonies do they inter them?

May 17, 1803 B. RUSH

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river, heading with that, leads into the Western ocean. . . . It would be very useful to state for him (Lewis) those objects on which it is most desirable he should bring us information. For this purpose I ask the favor of you to prepare some notes of such particulars as may occur in his journey and which you think should draw his attention and inquiry. He will be in Philadelphia about 2 or 3 weeks hence and will wait on you" (*The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford, IX, 1905, p. 452).

[69] This question stemmed from the notion, held by some imaginative people at that time, that the American Indians were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Elias Boudinot published in 1815 a book to prove this hypothesis.

May 19. Heard this day from the Revd. Dr. Nesbit[70] that the Revd. Dr. John Erskine of Edinburgh died January 19th of the present year. He was my friend when in Scotland, and my correspondent ever since. Few clergymen have ever lived or died whose Benevolence and usefulness filled a larger sphere.

Directions for MR. LEWIS for the Preservation of his Health and of those who were to accompany him

1. Flannel worn next to the skin, especially in wet weather.

2. Always to take a little *raw* spirits after being very wet or much fatigued; and as little as possible at any other time.

3. When you feel the least indisposition, fasting and rest; and diluting drinks for a few hours, take a sweat, and if costive take a purge of two pills every four hours until they operate freely.[71]

4. Unusual costiveness is often the sign of an approaching disease. When you feel it, take one or two of the opening pills.

5. Where salt cannot be had with your meat, steep it a day or two in common lye.[72]

6. In difficult and laborious enterprises or marches, eating sparingly will enable you to bear them with less fatigue and more safety to your health.

7. Washing feet with spirit when chilled, and every morning with cold water.

8. Molasses or sugar and water with vit. [victuals?] and for drink with meals.

9. Shoes without heels.

10. Lying down when fatigued.

June 11, 1803.

[1804]

January 17. Died at Carlisle the Revd. Chas. Nesbet[73], Principal of the College at that place, aged 66. He was, in knowledge, a walking Library. He knew a great deal of many, and a little of all subjects.

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[70] See below, note 73 (Nisbet).

[71] Lewis "found Rushes pills sovereign" in cases of bilious constipation during the expedition (*Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, II, 280, New York, 1904).

[72] This passage was marked for deletion, in the ms.

[73] Charles Nisbet, D.D., 1736-1804, was born in Scotland of poor parents. He was graduated at Edinburgh in 1754, studied theology, and held pastorates at Glasgow and Montrose. Witherspoon thought him a suitable candidate for the presidency

His knowledge was derived from books that few people read, and that many people never heard of. This was owing to a peculiar circumstance. He lived next door to a pastry Cook at Montrose in Scotland, who used to import old Books from London by the barrel, to put their leaves under his pies. Before he tore them up he permitted Dr. Nesbet to look over them, and to take such as he wanted at a trifling price for his own use. These books the Doctor read, and from them extracted a great deal of his rare and uncommon knowledge. He was an excellent companion, and his conversation overflowed with wit, humor, and instructing anecdotes. Unhappily he was, like Dr. Smith,[74] of a querulous disposition, and more disposed to find fault than to praise. His usefulness to Society was by no means proportioned to his uncommon abilities and extensive knowledge. He rather resembled a fountain, which poured forth streams in a royal garden for the amusement of spectators than a rich and copious stream that fertilized in its course an extensive country. He died, it was said, of a broken heart occasioned by the bad conduct of his eldest son, who was a notorious drunkard, and who, in a fit of insanity produced by it, struck his father.

February 6. This day died in Northumberland the Revd. Dr. Priestley. For the particulars of his death see the annexed paper written by his friend Tho. Cooper.[75]

A clipping, "Death of Dr. Priestley," from a newspaper, is pasted into the manuscript at this place.

February 7. Died at Bath, Wm. Bingham of this city. He left an estate valued at three million of Dollars, half a million of which was in stock of different kinds. He was pleasant in his manners, amiable in his temper, liberal, but said not [to] be charitable. He died in his 53[rd] year. He acquired his immense estate by his own

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of Princeton. Nisbet came to America in 1785 and was installed as president of Dickinson College in 1786. With more scholarship than executive ability, he was unhappy in the frontier town of Carlisle, but carried on at his post until his death (James Henry Morgan, *Dickinson College, the History of One Hundred and Fifty Years*, Carlisle, Pa., 1933).

[74] i.e. Rev. Dr. William Smith.

[75] Thomas Cooper, 1759-1839, a radical in theology and politics, removed to America with Priestley, practised law at Northumberland, Pa., and ultimately became a professor of chemistry, first at Dickinson College, and then (after BR's time) at the University of Pennsylvania and at South Carolina College. He was a notable political writer (DAB).

ingenuity. Mr. Adams informed me [that] Mr. B., had borrowed £60,000 Sterling in Holland, all of which he laid out in certificates when they were at 2/6 and 3/ in the pound. In all his money speculations he was fortunate.

March 18. This day Mrs. McCurrach[76] threw herself into the Skuilkill and perished, and next day her body was found. She had been melancholy for some months, and had a few weeks ago been saved from death which she attempted to bring on herself by taking 1 oz. of liquid laudanum.

March. This month a whale killed at Rheedy [Reedy] Island 37 feet in length was exhibited as a shew near Kensington to many, perhaps a thousand spectators.

Epitaph composed many years ago on Dr. Priestley, taken from an English paper:

"Here lie at rest
In oaken chest
Together packed most nicely
The blood and veins,
The bones and brains,
And *Soul* of Dr. Priestley."

March. Died aged 81 Ed. Stiles,[77] worth near £200,000, a poor ignorant avaricious creature! He withheld all the comforts of life from his only son. He seldom paid a debt without being sued for it. Even his taxes were extorted from him by law. He had no confidence in banks nor funds. He loved silver, gold, bonds, and real property only. £28,000 Dollars were found in his chests, and his keys found under his body after his death.

October 16. This day my son Dr. John Rush set off with Major Butler[78] for South Carolina.

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[76] The only person of similar name in the Philadelphia *Directories* at this period was James McCurach, commission broker, 65 North Walnut Street.

[77] Edward Stiles, gentleman, 70 Walnut Street, was listed in the Philadelphia *Directory* of 1804 but not in those of 1805 and 1806.

[78] Pierce Butler, 1774-1822, was born in Ireland, came to the U.S. as a British army officer, but resigned his commission before the Revolution and resided in Charleston, S.C. He was a member of the Continental Congress 1787, 1788, and of the U.S. Senate 1789-1796, 1803-1804. He married into the rich Middleton family of Charleston. He was apparently a warm friend of BR (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*).

[1805]

November. General Miranda[79] visited me often. He mentioned his interviews with Frederick 2nd of Prussia and the Empress Catharine of Russia. He was intimate in 1782 or 3 with Col. Hamilton,[80] who often spoke with contempt of General Washington. He said he never read any book upon the art of war but Sim's military guide, and that his heart was a stone.

[There are no entries for 1806]

[1807]

May 1. Mrs. Bard[81] of New York told me that Mrs. Duché had a delicate stomach, and that lest it should be offended by the food she ate at sea, always took off her spectacles when she sat down to her meals, that she might not see anything disgusting in her food. How wisely would we act in company, in hearing sermons, in speaking of absent friends, in travelling, etc. always "to take off our spectacles." By this practice we should avoid feeling and giving a great deal of pain in our journey through life!

Mrs. Duché once said to me she could rather make a cup of caudle to please the palate of a sick person than discover a Georgium Sidus.[82]

May 27. This day Mr. Wm. Wall[83] promised to take my son Benjn. Rush into his counting house next fall.

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[79] Francisco Antonio Gabriel de Miranda, 1756-1815, Venezuelan revolutionary soldier, was in the U.S. organizing a military expedition for the liberation of his country. BR gave him a letter of introduction to James Madison dated Dec. 3, 1805 (W. S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," *Ann. Rep. Am. Hist. Assoc. for 1907*, Washington, 1908; the letter will be printed in LHB, Rush Letters).

In the manuscript this entry is erroneously dated 1806. Doubtless BR wrote it early in that year and inadvertently put down the wrong year.

[80] i.e. Alexander Hamilton, who was a member of Congress in 1782 and 1783. The book referred to is *Military Guide for Young Officers*, by Thomas Simes, Philadelphia 1775, reprinted from the London edition of 1722.

[81] Probably Mary Bard, wife of Samuel Bard, 1742-1821, celebrated physician of New York City, founder of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University.

[82] The planet now called Uranus, discovered in 1781 by Sir William Herschel, was called by him "Georgium sidus," i.e. King George's star.

[83] William Waln, 1775-1826, merchant, was a son of the eminent Quaker lawyer and minister Nicholas Waln (see p. 211, note 59). (G. W. Jordan, *Colonial Families of Pennsylvania*, New York, 1911.) That he did employ Benjamin Rush Jr. is indi-

This day my two daughters Emily Cuthbert and Mary Manners and their two children with Mr. Cuthbert and Miss Antrobus, neice to Mr. Cuthbert, and two servants arrived upon a visit to my family, to the great joy of us all.

June 23. This day I witnessed the laying the cornerstone of St. James's Church in 7th Street by Bishop White attended by the vestry &c. of his church, and all the Episcopal clergy in the city. The Bishop, after a short address to the Byestanders, offered up a short prayer for the success of the undertaking, and for the safety and lives of the persons who were to be employed in building the church.

June 29. This day Revd. Mr. Pilmore informed me that in 1783 he visited a Revd. Mr. Perronet,[84] a Swiss clergyman of the Church of England in the 90th year of his age. He rose when he came into his room, and said, "I rise to receive you in the name of the Lord." He then said that he believed great events were about to be brought about—that there would be a great overturning of all the nations in the earth, and that then the millenium would come. I shall (said he) soon die and go to Heaven, from whence I shall look down and see it, but you may live to see it.

July 1. This day my two beloved daughters with their 4 children and Mr. Cuthbert &c., &c., left on their return to Canada. It was to us all a day of sorrow. One of them, *Mary*, we shall probably never see again.[85]

A town meeting was held, of which I was invited to be chairman. I declined it partly on account of the distress I felt from parting with my daughters. There was nothing in my heart that vibrated with the objects of the meeting.

July 24. This day Dr. Dauxion Lavaysse,[86] a Swiss, breakfasted

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cated by two letters, *19 Rush mss., 29, 30.* The name is still pronounced as BR spelled it, with the *n* silent.

Benjamin Rush, 1791-1824, was the sixth son and tenth child of BR (see Appendix 3).

[84] Joseph Pilmore, 1734-1825, came to the U.S. as a Methodist itinerant missionary, but was ordained in the Episcopal church 1785 and became rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, in 1804 (Sprague).

Vincent Perronet, 1693-1785, vicar of Shoreham, Kent, England, was the father of the hymn-writer Edward Perronet ("All hail the power of Jesus' name").

[85] Presumably because her husband, Captain Thomas Manners, who had been stationed in Canada, expected to return to England.

[86] Entries in the Index of Spanish Protocols, the Secretariat, Port of Spain, show that Jean Joseph Dauxion Lavaysse engaged in business transactions in Trinidad from 1802 to 1806 (information kindly supplied by the Colonial Secretary). Dr. Lavaysse,

with me. He had lived ten years in Trinidad, and had been educated in Edinburgh. He was amiable, sensible, well read, and what was more extraordinary in a French physician, a firm believer in Christianity and in Dr. Clark's doctrine of the Trinity. He spoke highly of a Dr. Amic[87] at Guadeloupe who had been persecuted for his new opinions in medicine and his attachment to republican principles.

September 8. On the Origin of Divine and Human Knowledge. All from inspiration of existence of a God, [and are] attributes of God. Milton thought so. Origin of evil, future state. Dress, horticulture, after fall agriculture and other arts. Easier to conceive eternal world than eternal spirit. When revealed wisdom obvious. So future state when revealed obvious or probable from decay and revival of trees, metals, &c. Discoveries from accidents are Revelations, also intellectual inspiration. Distinguished improvement and innovation from discovery. They arise from seminal principles previously discovered. Thus multiplicity of languages from 24 letters of alphabet, and copiousness from new combinations of them. Where not so should be considered as intellectual inspiration. Reject natural religion. We should have been not Pagans, but Brutes without Revelation, and as to the arts of civilization, we should have known as little as dogs or horses. All our capacities would have been dormant. What may we not be from future Revelations—perhaps as many dormant capacities as have been evoked by Revelation.

September 20. This day visited Mrs. Coxe,[88] the daughter of my old master, Dr. Redman, who returned to Philadelphia after an absence of 24 years to see her aged parents, her father 84 and her mother 82. They were highly gratified and revived in seeing her. Her venerable father said to me when he left her 24 years ago that "He that loved father or mother or wife or child more than me is unworthy of me." With this text he said he had been comforted. This day he said [to] me "that he owed ten thousand talents for this new debt contracted to Heaven, and that as he could not pay a farthing for it he was determined to turn Bankrupt and throw himself wholly upon the mercy of his *Divine* Creditor."

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about whom nothing more has been ascertained, wrote to BR from Paris in 1811 to say that he had not received replies to several letters (*9 Rush mss.*, 51).

[87] The name transcribed Amic is obscurely written. It may begin with Anr- or Aur- and end with -ie or -is. There were persons named Amic in the French West Indies.

[88] See p. 74, note 90 for Daniel Coxe, 1739-1826, and his wife Sarah Redman.

September 21. This day Dr. Smith of Virginia[89] called upon me on his way to New York to which place he had been invited to teach Anatomy in the new College of that city.

[1808]

February and March. Dr. Alexr. Ramsay[90] brought me a letter of introduction from Mr. Robt. Liston. He had been educated in Edinburgh, where he taught anatomy by dissections. He came to this country to investigate the cause of the yellow fever. He gave 6 lectures in New York and 6 in Philadelphia upon what he called the "natural theology of the human body." These lectures were desultory, incoherent, and a melange of natural history, metaphysics, morals, and Religion, but they were now and then illumined by a striking fact and bold flights of genius. His person was short and deformed, and his manner comic. From the latter arose much of the entertainment he gave his hearers, who amounted to 200 in number. In private conversation he was more regular and coherent, and instructed as well as pleased. He appeared to be amiable and inoffensive. He was vain, but his vanity was more the fault of his head than heart. He was about 40 years of age.

March 10. This day I gave my testimony in favor of Wm. Bradford being in a sound state of mind when he gave me certain notes on his death bed.[91]

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[89] John Augustine Smith, 1782-1865, a Virginian educated at William and Mary College and (in medicine) at London, practised awhile in Virginia and was called in 1807 to the newly organized College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University. For his subsequent career as president of William and Mary College, and later of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, see DAB.

[90] The temperamental genius Alexander Ramsay, 1754-1824, spent the latter part of his life in the U.S. as a wandering teacher of anatomy, trying to establish a great anatomical institute at Fryeburg, Maine, and working on an ambitious set of anatomical plates, which he drew and engraved himself with much skill. BR's sketch of him agrees with the general judgment of his contemporaries (DAB).

[91] For an explanation of the litigation of which this was a part, and of the quarrel between BR and Elias Boudinot over William Bradford's estate, see Appendix 4. Elias Boudinot was Bradford's father-in-law and was his executor under a disputed will. Rachel Boudinot, 1764-1803, wife of Elisha B., Elias B.'s brother, was a sister of the decedent William Bradford. Tacey Bradford Wallace, ?-1829, was another sister of the decedent and wife of Joshua M. Wallace of Burlington, N.J., who was associated with Boudinot in the litigation. Thomas Bradford (1745-1838; DAB) was the decedent's brother. Jared Ingersoll, a prominent lawyer, was attorney for Thomas Bradford. (For members of the Bradford family not in DAB see Samuel S. Purple, *The Bradford Family: Genealogical Memorials of William Bradford the Printer*, New York, 1873.)

March 12. This day I contradicted the testimony given by Elias Boudinot, Rachel Ditto, and Tacy Wallace.

In the course of the tryal Mr. Boudinot was asked when Mr. Bradford's estate became so suddenly great. He at first refused to answer the question, and after a pause he said he did not know. Mr. Boudinot had returned to the Register's Office but 19 shares of stock of the Bank of the United States while Executor to Wm. Bradford, instead of 45, which Mr. Bradford left a copy of, which Thos. Bradford had secretly taken from Mr. Boudinot's inventory of Wm. Bradford's property, 6 of which were held in the name of Elias Boudinot, and 18 held in the name of J. Ingersols. Mr. Boudinot was asked March 11 if the 19 shares he returned were all the shares Mr. B. left in the Bank of the United States. He said no. He was asked where were the residue. He said he did not know. He believed Mr. Bd. had sold them. Next day Mr. Boudinot recollected he held 6 of them in lieu of . . .

[a page missing]

May 5. This day sent a check to Mr. Coates for 351.63 1/2 for the Pennsylvania Hospital with the following note:

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a check for three hundred and fifty dollars for the use of the Pennsylvania Hospital, being a sum of money bequeathed to me by the late Charles Nicholes[92] to be applied to charitable purposes.

With great respect for yourself and your colleagues in the management of the institution committed to your care, I am, Dear Sir

your and their friend and [page torn],

November 16. This evening Dr. Crawford of Baltimore[93] drank tea with me. He said his father was a Clergyman in Ireland and that from £30/0/0 a year salary with the product of a glebe he had given 4 sons liberal education and professions, and left two daughters each £500 sterling. The Doctor said he had lost all his business by propagating an unpopular opinion in medicine, viz. that all diseases were occasioned by animalculae. He was 62 years of age he said, and "not worth a cent, but in debt."

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[92] See below, p. 321, for a sketch of Charles Nicholes, 1759-1807.

[93] John Crawford, 1746-1813, M.D. of Trinity College, Dublin, settled in Baltimore 1796, where he was a useful and prominent member of his profession. He was one of the very first in America to practise vaccination. His theoretical arguments for the production of disease by minute parasitic animalculae were, as he told BR, not well received by his colleagues. Crawford and BR were frequent correspondents (DAB).

December 12. This evening met 25 citizens at Mr. Ralston's for the purpose of establishing a Bible Society. At the request of three or four gentlemen I opened the business of the meeting. A Constitution was then offered, which was subscribed by all the company present with great zeal and cordiality. Bishop White presided at this meeting. Two previous meetings were held at Mr. Ralston's to prepare the business for the above meeting, at which were present Mr. Ralston, the Revd. Messrs. Archd. Alexander and Jacob Janeway,[94] and Benjn. Rush.

[1809]

May 18. This evening the Revd. Mr. Cathcart, Dr. Creigh, and myself as a Committee from the Trustees of Carlisle College offered the Principal's chair to the Revd. Dr. Wilson,[1] who declined it, saying at the same time that the situation would be very agreeable to his inclinations, but that it would be contrary to his Sense of Duty. Providentially, Dr. Dwight of New Haven (to whom I had written to recommend a Principal to us) was at Dr. Wilson's. We called him into a private room, and asked him what he had done for us. He said a Mr. Atwater,[2] President of Middleberry College, had written to him about the time the Doctor received my letter that he was dissatisfied with his situation, and wished to leave it. Dr. Dwight had not answered his letter, excepting first to see me. He spoke in high terms of his Character and qualifications for the station of Principal of a College and promised to consult him by letter on the subject of accepting an offer for us.

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[94] Archibald Alexander, D.D., 1772-1851, a Virginian, was made president of Hampden-Sydney College 1796. After declining several calls to Philadelphia he finally became pastor of Pine Street Presbyterian church in 1807. In the same year he was moderator of the Presbyterian general assembly. In 1812 he became a professor at Princeton Theological Seminary (Sprague).

Jacob Janeway, 1774-1858, was at this time co-pastor with Dr. Ashbel Green of the Second Presbyterian church. Later he was successively a theological professor, Dutch Reformed pastor, and vice-president of Rutgers College (Gillett).

Robert Cathcart, 1759-1837, an Irishman educated at Glasgow, was Presbyterian minister at York, Pennsylvania for more than 40 years (Gillett).

John Creigh, born at Carlisle, Pa., died there in 1848; took his M.D. degree at Philadelphia. He was a prominent Presbyterian layman of his native city and for many years a trustee of Dickinson College (*Men of Mark of Cumberland Valley, Pa.*, Philadelphia, 1876).

[1] James Patriot Wilson, D.D., 1769-1830, was graduated with high honors from the University of Pennsylvania in 1788. In 1806 he was called, at the instance of BR, who was already his close friend, to the First Presbyterian church of Philadelphia, where he remained until the year of his death (Sprague).

[2] Jeremiah Atwater, 1773-1858, was graduated from Yale in 1793, and thereafter for several years was fellow in classics and tutor. After studying theology with Timothy Dwight, whose favorite pupil he was, he became the first president of Middlebury College in Vermont (1798-1809). His administration of Dickinson College prospered at first, but troubles over the control of the college, and over student dis-

May 15 or 16. The particulars of a duel were published in several of the newspapers. The name of one of the parties, Sir George Maclin, and the initials and finals of the names of one of the seconds and the surgeons, the cause and place of the duel, and the wounds given to each party were all mentioned. The account excited general attention. Upon inquiry there was not a word of truth in it.[3]

May 20. This day Mr. Jno. Murdock informed me that Mr. T. Francis[4] had informed him that one of the Priests of the Catholic Church had brought him a 1000 Dollars which he said had been stolen from him by one of his clerks many years ago. Mr. Francis did not suspect any person who lived with him, and had not missed the money thus restored.

May. Another subject of conversation was the marriage between a Mrs. Smith, a wealthy widow with two children, of respectable family, to her overseer.[5] She was universally censured for it. There are 3 subjects, Dr. Franklin said, which interest a man's self only, and yet

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cipline, together with the disruptive effects of the War of 1812, greatly discouraged both Atwater and BR. Atwater resigned in 1816 and spent the rest of his life in New Haven (James Henry Morgan, *Dickinson College 1783-1933*, Carlisle, 1933).

[3] Apparently there really was a duel. The *United States Gazette* of May 17, 1809, in an article beginning "Report of a duel this morning," related that Sir George Maclin (or Macklin) an Irishman travelling in the U.S., was challenged, after an altercation, by one Captain Fauché, a French officer. Maclin was severely wounded by a bullet in the groin and was taken in charge by his friends, who conveyed him to New York. On May 26 the *Gazette* stated that the report of the duel was a fabrication, and that a letter received by the editor on the 17th, on which it was based, bore a forged signature. On June 3, however, the *Gazette* reprinted letters from Maclin and one of his friends, Henry Thompson, to the *New York Evening Post*, confirming the occurrence of a duel and stating that Maclin had been quite ill from inflammation of his wound, but was recuperating at the home of Judge Colden, of Coldenham, Orange County, N.Y.

[4] John Murdock, perfumer, 57 Walnut Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1809).

Tench Francis, ca.1775-1827, third of the name, was grandson of Tench Francis (d. 1758), attorney general of Pennsylvania, and nephew of Tench Francis, 1730-1800 (Thomas Balch, *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1855; Edward L. Clark, *Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of Christ Church*, Philadelphia, 1864).

[5] This Mrs. Smith has not been identified.

there are no three subjects the world interests itself more in, viz. building a house, marrying a wife, and making a will. Marriages give offence to the public in the following order: 1. No fortune on either side, 2. Great inferiority of age on the woman's side, 3. Great Ditto on the man's side, 4. Great inequality of rank, 5. Diversity of color. The last excites horror.

May 22. This day the following gentlemen, members of the general assembly then sitting in Philadelphia, dined with me, viz. the Revd. Dr. Dwight, Dr. Davidson, Dr. Green, Mr. Cathcart, Mr. Pinion of Connecticut, Mr. Huff of Vermont, Mr. Romaine of New York, and Saml. Bayard[6] and Jno. Creigh. They were excellent company. They walked in the garden after dinner, and admired it. I remarked upon what they said, "Deus nobis haec otia fecit," and that this was not the "Babylon I had built," I owed it wholly to the goodness of God.

May. Written on hearing of the disputes between Dr. Mason and Jno. Hobart on the Divine origin of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism:[7]

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[6] Robert Davidson, D.D., 1750-1812, was professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania when a young man. After a pastorate at the First Presbyterian church of Philadelphia he became pastor at Carlisle, professor in Dickinson College and ultimately (1804) president of the college (Sprague).

Ashbel Green, D.D., 1762-1848, was professor of mathematics at Princeton and afterward became pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, Philadelphia. He was very prominent in church affairs, was chaplain of Congress for several years, and President of Princeton 1812-1822. His wife was Mrs. Benjamin Rush's eldest sister.

Bezaleel Pinneo was Timothy Dwight's fellow delegate from the Congregational churches of Connecticut.

John Hough, date of birth unknown, d. 1861, was at the time pastor of the Congregational church at Vergennes, Vermont. From 1812 to 1837 he was professor in Middlebury College (ms. *Biographical Sketches of the Congregational Pastors of New England*, by Rev. Emerson Davis, library of Congregational House, Boston, by courtesy of F. L. Persons).

John B. Romeyn, a celebrated Presbyterian preacher, was minister at Rhinebeck, Schenectady and Albany, and in 1809 became pastor of Cedar Street church, New York City (*Presbyterian Encyclopedia*, Philadelphia, 1884; Sprague).

Samuel Bayard, 1762-1840, a lawyer, was a graduate and later a trustee of Princeton College, and spent much of his life at that place. He was for some years judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester Co., N.Y. (S. D. Alexander, *Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1872).

Pinneo and Hough were identified and the others confirmed from *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church . . . 1789 to 1820*, Philadelphia, 1847, a very rare book of which there is a copy at the Ridgway Library, Philadelphia.

[7] In the summer of 1807 the Reverend John Henry Hobart (1775-1830) afterward bishop of New York, but then the young assistant to the rector of Trinity Church, published his *Apology for the Apostolic Order*, in reply to attacks on episcopacy printed in *The Christian's Magazine*, of which John Mitchell Mason, D.D. (1770-1827) was editor. Mason, trained in theology at Edinburgh, was a celebrated pulpit

In travelling through a part of Asia Minor I came to a Village where I found a controversy between two Taylors which occupied the attention of everybody. One contended he was the descendant of Dorcas, who possessed from heaven a patent for the exercise of that business, and that he had an exclusive right to make cloathes. His name was Peter. Another contended that he possessed that right exclusively, and that he could show the patterns of coats, breeches, pantaloons, &c. cut out by the hands of their ancestor, Dorcas, with her own hands. His name was John. The contest between these two Taylors was furious. Each produced patent upon patent from the sons and nephews of Dorcas in favor of his respective claims. They branded each other with opprobious epithets. Peter called the cloathes made by John bear-skin, floor clout, and dish clout, while John insisted upon it that the cloathes made by Peter were made out of the rags of a noted prostitute known by the name of the Whore of Babylon.

Such was the rancor with which they disputed about their exclusive title to their respective trades, that they would neither eat nor drink with each other, nor enter into each other's houses. Peter did not acknowledge John to be one of the Craft, but always spoke of him only by the name of the "Dish clout maker." Besides these two Taylors there were several others in the village who worked at the trade, who did not pretend to be the heirs or Successors of Dorcas, but who by long practice had become as neat workmen as Peter and John. These persons were treated with equal contempt and obloquy by Peter and John, insomuch that they would not even give them the title of Taylors, and called the cloathes made by them nothing but "blankets and Breech clouts." I remarked that the inhabitants of the Village in spite of all that the Taylors said of each other, were all clad in a manner equally comfortable and decent, although the cloathes of some of them were a little more costly than others. In contemplating the dispute between these two Taylors and their unhappy consequences, I could not help thinking how much more the widows that wept over the corpse of Dorcas would have deplored her life rather than her death, had they foreseen the evils that the exercise of her trade would have brought upon this part of the world. And thou, Venerable Saint, little didst thou think thy charities would have be-

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orator. He was pastor of the Cedar Street Scotch Presbyterian Church in New York and later became provost of Columbia University (DAB, for both). BR's satirical piece is an imitation of Swift's *Tale of a Tub.*

come the source of so much discord among thy followers, and that a monopoly of a trade intended for the equal benefit of the whole human race should have been claimed by any one of them! Descend, gentle spirit of beneficence, from thy blest abode where thou are now enjoying the reward of thy liberal and pious labors, and heal by thy advice and presence the divisions that have taken place among the votaries of the scissors and thimble, and teach them that thy art was not entailed in thy family, and that every article of dress which completely covers those parts of the body which were intended to be concealed from the public eye, and which protects it from the inconveniences of heat and cold is perfectly agreeable to the pattern by which thou didst make the coats and garments for the poor of Joppa.

June 8. This day my wife and daughter Julia[8] set off on their journey to Canada to visit my two daughters there. They were accompanied by my son James to New York.

Began this day to copy my notes on Dr. Sydenham, and finished them on the 16th of the same month. June 22 and June 24 finished the notes on Dr. Cleghorn.[9] Wrote the dedications July 13th and 14th.

July 7. This day Col. Pickering dined with me with I. Hopkinson.[10]

July 10. This day Dr. John Redman Coxe was elected Professor of Chemistry in the room of Dr. Woodhouse, deceased. The trustees, 19 in number, voted as follows: Dr. Coxe, 10 votes; Robt. Hare, 7; Dr. Sybert, 2.[11]

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[8] Julia Rush, eleventh child of BR, 1792-1860; James Rush, 1786-1869, the seventh child; see Appendix 3, BR's Children.

[9] *The Works of Thomas Sydenham, M.D., on Acute and Chronic Diseases, with their Histories and Modes of Cure. With Notes, Intended to Accommodate them to the Present State of Medicine, and to the Climate and Diseases of the United States, by Benjamin Rush*, Philadelphia, 1809, 1815.

Observations on the Epidemical Diseases of Minorca from the Year 1744 to 1749. By George Cleghorn, with Notes by Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia, 1809.

[10] Timothy Pickering, 1745-1829, a native of Salem, Massachusetts, served valorously in the Revolution. After the war he settled in Pennsylvania. He was made Secretary of War in 1795 and Secretary of State 1795-1800. Returning to Massachusetts, he was U.S. Senator at the time of the meeting referred to by BR, serving in that capacity 1803-1811 (DAB).

Joseph Hopkinson, 1770-1842, son of Francis Hopkinson, was the author of "Hail Columbia." A distinguished lawyer, he was BR's attorney in the suit against Cobbett. He was in Congress 1815-1819 (DAB).

[11] Charles Caldwell (*Autobiography*) gives two pages to this election and the personalities involved. He says that BR, "by far the ablest tactician of the day," exerted himself without stint to get his devoted pupil John Redman Coxe into the

July 14. This day my dear son James Rush embarked for Greenock on his way to Edinburgh on board the Brig Isabella, Capt. Newcomb.[12] He was accompanied by Dr. Thos. Fuller[13] of Beaufort, South Carolina, a nephew of Major Butler's. My son took with him a bill upon Messrs. R. and I. Harrison and Latham, merchants of Liverpool for £200 sterling and a credit for £300 sterling a year from Major Butler, also a credit for £100 sterling in case of accidents from Mr. T. Fitzsimmons on Wm. Vaughan, London, both of which were kindly offered to him without being asked for by me.

July 22. Sent a duplicate of his letter and bill by the brig Bellona, Capt. Taylor[14] on Rice, also of Thos. Fuller's letter.

July 29. Wrote to him by a vessel bound to Liverpool. Wrote to him again in August by the British ship Maida from New York.

Instructions to my son JAMES upon his going abroad, June 1809.[15]

Commit yourself and all that you are interested in daily to the protection of your Maker, Preserver, and bountiful Benefactor.

I. Keep a journal from the day you leave Philadelphia, in which insert 1. All the physical facts that you hear in conversation. 2. The companies you go into and interesting matters you hear in them with

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chair he had himself once held, and that he did so not only for Coxe's benefit but to strengthen his own position in the faculty. Caldwell considered Coxe unqualified for the post, whereas Seybert, who was Caspar Wistar's candidate, was well equipped. He does not mention Hare at all.

Adam Seybert, 1773-1825, studied medicine in Philadelphia and in Europe. About the time he lost the professorial election he was elected to Congress. He was secretary of the American Philosophical Society and published some chemical studies in its transactions (DAB).

Robert Hare, 1781-1858, who was by far the best chemist of the three, had been a student of Woodhouse. In 1818, when Coxe was transferred to the chair of materia medica, Hare got the chair of chemistry (DAB).

[12] Probably William Newcomb, sea captain, 61 Shippen St. (Philadelphia *Directory* for 1809).

[13] Thomas Fuller of South Carolina was recommended to BR as a student by the latter's kinsman and former pupil J. E. B. Finley (letters in Rush mss.). Fuller was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania medical school May 1809. After his trip to Great Britain he settled in Beaufort, S.C., where he resided until his death in 1862 (inscription in St. Helena church yard, Beaufort, by courtesy of Dr. J. I. Waring, Charleston).

[14] There were two sea captains and one "mariner" of this name in the Philadelphia *Directory* for 1809.

[15] These somewhat oppressive instructions were expanded in BR's letters to James while abroad, a number of which will appear in LHB, *Rush Letters*.

the names of each of them when small and select. 3. The days you begin a new book, enter upon any new study or business. 4. Subjects of sermons, speeches, &c.

Avoid lodging in houses where there are handsome young ladies. Avoid particular attentions &c. where you visit.

II. Attend public worship and avoid dining out in *large* companies on Sundays. Also reading medical books. Read the Bible only on Sundays. Attend the courts, general assemblies, and debating Societies. See manufactures, &c.

III. Converse on medicine with physicians. Ask what new medicines or new forms of old medicines &c. they are in the habit of giving, e.g. digitalis &c.[16]

IV. Keep in a seperate book an account of your expenditures, contracts, &c., &c. Preserve all your receipts, also letters, notes and lecture tickets in neat order.

V. Buy but few books. Take a private course of lectures on natural philosophy.

VI. Take short notes of all the lectures you hear, or obtain copies of Gregory's, Duncan's[17] and other physiological and practical lectures.

VII. Record cases at the infirmaries and hospitals in a seperate book. Put indexes to all your manuscripts.

VIII. Establish a few good correspondents in the places you visit.

IX. Write by every packet. Also send letters every 3 or 4 weeks under cover to Dr. Jardine to be sent to Philadelphia.

Recollect the saying of Sir Jno. Bayard to his son when he set out on his travels, "Remember while you see the world, the world sees you." Also of Israel Pemberton to your father in 1766, "Keep older and wiser company than thyself!" Also of Geo. Dilwyn to B. Chew Jr., "Remember thou has a character to lose."[18]

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[16] The use of the leaves of the foxglove (Digitalis purpurea) for heart failure was introduced into regular medical practice by Dr. William Withering of Birmingham, England, between 1776 and 1783.

[17] James Gregory (see below, p. 282, note 20), *Conspectus medicinae theoreticae*, Edinburgh, London, 1788. BR probably had in mind, in referring to Andrew Duncan (see below, same note), his *Medical Cases*, Edinburgh, 1778.

[18] Presumably Sir John Baird, 1620-1698 (DNB).

Israel Pemberton, 1715-1779, Quaker merchant and philanthropist, a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital and member of the American Philosophical Society (DAB; Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton, King of the Quakers*, Philadelphia, 1943).

B. Chew, Jr., was a son of Benjamin Chew, 1722-1810, lawyer and jurist of Philadelphia (DAB).

Glasgow: Gave him letter to J. Burn and Rob. Watt.[19]

Edinburgh: Gave him letter to Dr. Dunan [Duncan], Dr. Gregory, Dr. Rutherford, Dr. Stewart, Dr. Munroe, Lord Leven, Lord Buchan, Lady J. Stewart, Mr. Creach, Mrs. Spence.[20]

Dr. Jardine in Liverpool.

London: Dr. Lettsom, Dr. Howorth, Dr. Pinkard, Dr. Garthshore, Granville Sharp, B. West, Revd. T. Coombe, Mrs. Miller [Millar].[21]

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[19] John Burns, 1774-1850, presumably the man listed here, was at the time an extramural teacher of anatomy and surgery in Glasgow (James Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1909).

Robert Watt, 1774-1819, physician and bibliographer, compiler of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824 (DNB).

[20] Andrew Duncan, 1744-1828, was at the time professor of the institutes of medicine at Edinburgh. He had studied medicine at that school only a year or two earlier than BR, and they had many interests in common.

James Gregory, 1753-1821, professor of medicine at Edinburgh, a scholarly but controversial man who was at this very time in serious contention with his colleagues.

Daniel Rutherford, 1749-1819, physician, professor of botany in the Edinburgh faculty of medicine.

"Dr. Stewart" was presumably Dugald Stewart, 1753-1828, professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh.

Alexander Monro, secundus, 1733-1817, for whom the letter of introduction was presumably intended, was in failing health by 1809; the lectures in anatomy were being given by his son and prospective successor, Alexander Monro, tertius, 1773-1859.

For all the foregoing see DNB.

Lord Leven was BR's friend of his student days, the Lord Balgonie mentioned on p. 51. He succeeded to the earldom in 1802.

David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, 1742-1829, elder brother of Thomas Erskine, Lord Chancellor, created Baron Erskine in 1806 (*Scots Peerage*, ed. by Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1905).

Lady J. Stewart was Lord Leven's sister, Jane Leslie, whom BR had greatly admired during his student days in Edinburgh (see p. 129, note 58).

William Creech, 1745-1815, was proprietor of the most important publishing business in Scotland. He brought out books of BR's teachers Cullen and Gregory, as well as some of Robert Burns's collected poems. He was an intelligent and sociable man and a great story-teller. BR must have met him when a student in Edinburgh, probably at the Speculative Society, of which Creech was a founder (DNB).

Mary Spence was the widow of a Scotchman who lived in or near Philadelphia, on a place called St. Andrews. Spence seems to have done some favors for BR at one time. After his death, about 1806, Mrs. Spence and her children returned to Scotland, living at first at Dunfermline and then at Edinburgh (Letters to BR from the Spences, *16 Rush mss., 34-49*, and from L. S. Jardine, *8 Rush mss., 59*).

[21] John Coakley Lettsom, 1744-1815, one of the most celebrated physicians of the day, was a friendly correspondent of BR's (Johnston Abraham, *Lettsom*, London, 1933).

"Dr. Howorth" was perhaps Adrian Hardy Haworth, 1767-1833, entomologist and botanist, author of *Lepidoptera Britannica*, 1803, and founder, in 1806, of the Entomological Society of London (DNB).

"Dr. Pinkard" was George Pinckard (see p. 241, note 80).

Granville Sharpe, 1734-1813, liberal philanthropist and reformer, an active opponent of Negro slavery (DNB).

Robina Craig Millar was the daughter of BR's great Edinburgh teacher, William

Verses written for Wm. Rush[22] to his mother in Canada:

My dear Mamma, while far you roam
From all the pleasant scenes of home
Do not forget your youngest child
Whose infant years you oft beguiled
With songs and stories and sweet kisses
And with ten thousand sweet caresses.
Come back with your maternal charms
And let me clasp you in my arms.
Here let us love and live together,
Here let us die and love forever.

June 22, 1809.

Ye Southern Winds, convey my prayers
To my dear mother's distant ears.
St. Laurence! bear upon your streams
My waking thoughts and midnight dreams.
Of that dear object of my love,
That precious boon of Heaven above.
Tell her her husband looks forlorn
And all her sons her absence mourn.
Tell her that grief pervades her dome
And sighs and tears invite her home.

June 30, 1809.

If sighs and tears in streams distilled
And every room with Sorrow filled
By husband and by children dear
In vain invoke your deafened ear,
O! let the sorrows of your grove
Your heart to love and pity move.
Ah! See! Your roses cease to bloom,
Your pinks withhold their sweet perfume.

Cullen. She came to America with her husband, a lawyer, in 1795. He died soon after. In 1797 she returned to Scotland and lived near Glasgow with her father-in-law, John Millar, a prominent professor of law in Glasgow University. She corresponded frequently with BR, whom she called her "dear father" and consulted him about a proposed biography of William Cullen (*25 Rush mss.*, *84-97*).

[22] William Rush, 1801-1864, youngest child of BR and Julia Rush (see Appendix 3).

Your grass assumes a russet hue
Though wet with constant rains and dew.
Your walnuts droop their shining leaves,
Your tall and stately locust grieves.
Your apple tree your flight deplores
And sick'ning drops its unripe stores.
Your willow* too its name forgoes
And weeps no more, from weight of woes.
All, all in gloomy concert mourn
And languish for your quick return.

July 7, 1809.

Verses written for Wm. Rush to his mother:

Could I like Proteus change my nature,
I'd soon become a feathered creature.
With wings of love I'd swiftly fly
To Canadia's northern sky.
There on my mother's lips I'd rest,
With transports glowing in my breast,
Till vanquished by their ruby charms,
I'd faint and drop into her arms.

July 29, 1809.

Lines written upon seeing the ground under the Presbyterian Church in Arch Street, in which the Revd. Gilbert Tennent (formerly minister of that church) was buried, converted into a cellar to be let for a grocery store for the benefit of the church:

The trumpet sounds, the waking dead arise,
And Tennent's spirit quits its native skies.
To his own church it wings its joyful way
And seeks reunion with its kindred clay.
"Where is my body?" cries the reverend saint?

"Behold it here, good sir." "No, no, it a'nt.
My body rested under my church floor,
That body rises from a grocery store."

August 8, 1809.

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* Each of the above-named trees grows in Mrs. Rush's garden.

Lines written for Wm. Rush to his mother in Canada, August 11, 1809:

Days seem like weeks, and weeks like months appear
While each successive month seems like a year.
Why thus does time deceive us in its flight?
My mother is from home! my chief delight!
Steamboats and waggons, speed, O! speed your way,
To Willie's arms her lovely form convey
And cause a year again to seem a day.

August 8. Last night Wm. Penn,[23] great grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, and son of Richd. Penn, formerly Governor of Pennsylvania, married a common Prostitute of this city. His father had sailed the day before for England. This young man was an accomplished Scholar, but wanted understanding upon all the affairs of life.

August 13. This day two of his wife's sisters, both prostitutes, his mother, a washerwoman, and her brother, a printer's boy, dined with him at a house he had taken at the Falls. What a contrast to his great [grand]father, Wm. Penn, in 1682 sitting down with the first members of the first Assembly of Pennsylvania, and admired for wisdom and virtue by half the world.

August 25. This morning my son Richd.[24] set off (with his brother Sam) for Maryland to be married to Miss Murray.

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[23] William Penn, 1776-1845, a talented but dissolute man, was in Pennsylvania from 1808 to about 1812. His marriage caused so much unfavorable comment that the minister who officiated published a pamphlet in self-defense. The specific objection to the marriage has been hinted at but apparently never publicly stated. The couple left no descendants and moreover the whole family line descended from the Founder through his son Richard is now extinct and there can be no harm in publishing BR's frank statement now. A letter is on record in which Mr. Penn spoke affectionately of his wife three years after the marriage. Nothing is known of her at any later date. Penn returned to London, and is said to have spent so much of his time in debtors' prison that when freed he declined to quit the neighborhood (*Documents Relative to the Celebration of a Late Marriage*, Philadelphia, 1809; H. M. Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania; Ancestry and Descendants*, Philadelphia, 1899).

Richard Penn (2nd), 1735-1811, was the son of Richard Penn the Proprietary (DAB).

[24] Richard Rush, BR's third child and second son, the future statesman and diplomat (see Appendix 3) married on August 29, 1809, Catherine Elizabeth Murray, daughter of Dr. James and Mrs. Sarah E. Murray of Piney Grove, Maryland, formerly of Annapolis (Henry J. Williams in Biddle). Piney Grove was apparently not a village but the name of an estate in Anne Arundel County, in which county the marriage license was issued.

September 4. This day my son Richard returned with his bride. I assured her when I received her that I should consider [her] not "as an adopted, but as my own child."

September 6. This day my wife and daughter Julia returned from Canada. In travelling 1500 miles by land and water, they were not once in any real danger, nor even alarmed with any supposed danger, nor was either indisposed a day during their absence. What cause of gratitude and praise to the Giver of all good!

September 11. This day the Revd. Mr. Jer. Atwater with his wife, sister, and three children came to my house on their way to Carlisle, where Mr. A. was about to preside over the College. They left us on the 13th, Wednesday. Mr. Atwater appeared to be learned, well read, pious, and heartily disposed to enter upon his duties as Principal of the College with zeal and disinterestedness. He is now 35 years of age. Long, long may he live a blessing to Science, Religion, and to all the best interests of our Country!

October 8. This day heard from Dr. McCoskrey[25] that Mr. Atwater was well pleased with Carlisle, and gave great satisfaction to the trustees of the College and the inhabitants of Carlisle. Mr. Atwater in a letter I received from him says "he is not in a land of strangers, and that he is at home at Carlisle."

October 9. This day read an account of the arrival of the vessel in Greenock in which my son James went a passenger on his way to Edinburgh, for which I desire to be sincerely thankful.

November. Died Robt. Montgomery,[26] aged 38. He was the inheritor of a large estate from his father and grandfather, which had been accumulated by the latter by the most extraordinary arts of oeconomy and meanness. His contracted spirit descended in his family. His grandson was expensive in his pleasures, but wanted generosity and charity. Upon his death bed he lamented that he had been neglected in his education, and that no restraint had ever been laid upon his inclinations, from the early death of his father and his want of obedience to his mother. He left no legitimate issue, but divided his estates among his relations, a natural son and the mother of that son, and public institutions. To one of his poor relations to whom he once refused a dollar for market money he left 4000 Dollars, perhaps to ease his conscience from the reproaches of that unkind act.

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[25] The name is not clearly written, and the transcription is tentative. Samuel A. McCoskry, a prominent physician of Carlisle, was a very active trustee of Dickinson College from its foundation in 1783 to 1815. In 1795 he married, as his second wife, Alison Nisbet, daughter of Charles N., first president of the college (James Henry Morgan, *Dickinson College, The History of One Hundred and Fifty Years*, Carlisle, Pa., 1933).

[26] Robert Montgomery lived at 31 Lombard Street (Philadelphia *Directory* for 1809). His will, preserved at Philadelphia City Hall, agrees with BR's statement.

November and December. Was frequently visited during these months by Mr. Joseph Roxas,[27] a native of Mexico, a young man of uncommon talents and acquirements. He attended a course of my lectures, and took notes of them.

[1810]

Lines upon the fatal sickness of Master Pierce Butler Mease,[28] who died Jany. 2, 1810 of the croup in the 9th year of his age:

Oh! Spare our son, his weeping parents cry,
Oh! Spare our boy, his weeping aunts reply,
Think of his distant sire with grief opprest,
And let his woes the deadly stroke arrest.
I am not death, the fell disease replies,
I bring a Cherub's message from the skies,
I come to bear the object of your love
From earth's low follies to the World above.
Nor will he die when he resigns his breath
Future Unhappiness alone is death.

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[27] In *Diseases of the Mind*, 1812, p. 69, BR mentions Joseph Roxas as "a native of Mexico who passed nearly forty years of his life among the civilized but depressed natives of that country." In the papers of James Madison, Library of Congress, volume 40, there is a letter from BR to Dr. Walter Jones of the House of Representatives, asking that Roxas be introduced to President Madison. "He is a friend to liberty, and an enemy to superstition in Religion. In consequence of the latter, he is a voluntary exile from his native country." Roxas, evidently intrigued by BR's medical lectures, published "Illustrations of the Brunonian Doctrine, as it respects Excitability, Stimulus, and Excitement," by Don Roxas, late Professor of Subterranean Geometry in the School of Mines, at Mexico" (*Medical Repository*, 3rd Hexade, II, 9-11). This little article is a geometrical expression of the Brunonian theory of disease (see Appendix I) illustrated by two nomograms (the original diagrams in pen-and-ink are in *26 Rush mss., 109*). In May, 1811, still unable for political reasons to return to Mexico, he opened a school of mathematics in New Orleans (Roxas to BR, *25 Rush mss., 106*).

[28] Pierce Butler Mease was a son of BR's former apprentice Dr. James Mease and grandson of his friend Major Pierce Butler, both of whom are mentioned elsewhere in this book.

On hearing from Dr. Andrews[29] that the Revd. Dr. Smith upon hearing much thunder &c. a few days after the death of Dr. Franklin at Governor Mifflin's table, said the clouds knew that their master was dead, and were now rejoicing at it:

> "What means that flash? the thunder's awful roar?
> The blazing sky, unseen, unheard before?"
> Sage Smith replies, "Our Franklin is no more.
> The clouds long subject to his iron or magic chain
> Wrestling now, their liberty regain."

January 20. This day died aged 87 Benjm. Chew Esqr. He had held many offices under the old proprietary government, all of which he filled with ability and integrity. His influence in the executive part of the government during the administration of Jas. Hamilton and John Penn[30] had no bounds. He enjoyed during his whole life the most unexampled exemption from domestic affliction. He never lost but one child, he left 12 adult children behind him, all above 30 years of age, and all amiable, dutiful, and affectionately devoted to him. With his wife he passed nearly 50 years in uninterrupted conjugal felicity. His last years only were marked with disease and pain, in which he discovered great impatience and no solicitude about his future state. "Son, remember thou in thy lifetime has thy good things."[31]

February 3. This day my son John Rush arrived from New Orleans in a state of deep melancholy brought on by killing a brother officer in the Navy, who was his intimate friend, in a Duel between 2 and 3 years ago. Neither the embraces nor tears of his parents, brothers, or sister could prevail upon him to speak to them. His grief and uncombed hair and long beard added to the distress produced by the disease of his mind.[32]

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[29] John Andrews, 1746-1813, an Episcopalian clergyman, became a professor in the University of Pennsylvania in 1785, vice-provost in 1791 and provost in 1810 (S. F. Hotchkin, *Early Clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware*, Philadelphia, 1890).

The epigrammatist was William Smith, D.D. Mr. L. H. Butterfield points out (private communication) that BR related this story in greater detail, but with his stanza as here, in a letter of August 10, 1802 to Smith (William Smith Papers, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[30] James Hamilton, ca.1710-1783, acting governor of Pennsylvania 1748-1754, 1759-1763, 1771, 1773.

John Penn, 1729-1795, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania 1763-1771, 1773-1776 (DAB, for both).

[31] Luke xvi, 25.

[32] See Appendix 3 for the events leading to this tragic breakdown.

February 8. This morning died of uterine consumption Mrs. Providence Kennard,[33] an eminently pious patient of mine. Upon seeing some of her friends whispering at her fireside as she lay in her bed, she said, "If you are talking of death and eternity, speak out; I love the sound of those words." She left an affectionate husband and eight children behind her.

April. During this month prepared 9 additional introductory and two lectures upon the pleasures of the senses and of the mind for the press,[34] and recomposed a new syllabus of my lectures.

April 21. This day began to read Pringle's books with a reference to publishing notes upon them.[35] Finished them in a few days, and finished Lind on the diseases of warm climates,[36] read for the same purpose, May 3d.

May 4. Received a visit from Charles Thompson. He told me he was in his 81st year and enjoyed good health. His conversation was sprightly and entertaining. He told me he delivered General Washington his Commission in 1774 [1775] with his own hand by order of Congress, and received it from the General when he gave it back to Congress at the close of the Revolutionary War. He gave me a minute account of the time and manner of his coming to America, which was when he was 10 years old. He was educated at Dr. Allison's[37] school at New London. While there he walked to Philadelphia, 45 miles, to buy a set of the *Spectators*, which were read with great pleasure by himself and Schoolmates. He was induced to translate the Septuagint in order to relieve his mind from the distress he felt after the war was over, from the feebleness of the old Confederation and its incompetency to preserve the Union of the states. The copy of the Septuagint he said was obtained in the following manner: He went to an auction of books in the year 1760 where one half of the Septuagint was exposed to sale. He bought it for 6 d. or 9 d. The next year he went to the same auction room, where he bought the remaining half of that work for a trifle. He got them neatly bound together, and afterwards read in it, particularly in the prophecy of Isaiah, which was the first part of the Old Testament he translated. He said he composed a work to show the harmony of the 4 Evangelists as to times and events, which was then in the hands of Thomas Dobson.[38]

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[33] The only similar name in the Philadelphia *Directories* of 1809 and 1810 is George Kenard, merchant, 55 South Wharves, 234 Spruce Street.

[34] These introductory lectures were added to the six previously published (1801) to make up *Sixteen Introductory Lectures to Courses of Lectures upon the Institutes and Practice of Medicine, with a Syllabus of the latter. To which are added, two Lectures upon the Pleasures of the Senses and of the Mind, with an Inquiry into their Proximate Cause*, Philadelphia, 1811. Since BR mentions nine lectures, he must have had one in reserve.

[35] *Observations on the Diseases of the Army, by Sir John Pringle, Bart., with Notes by Benjamin Rush*, Philadelphia, 1810.

For Pringle, whom BR met and admired in London 1768-1769, see p. 53, note 38.

[36] James Lind, 1716-1794, surgeon in the British navy, is famous for his discovery that lemon juice is a curative in scurvy (DNB). His book *An Essay on Diseases incidental to Europeans in Hot Climates*, London, 1768, was the first special treatise on tropical medicine.

BR did not publish his projected edition of this book with his own annotations, possibly having found himself anticipated by the preparation of an American edition which appeared in 1811 at Philadelphia.

[37] Francis Alison, D.D.

This day sent a copy of the 3rd edition of my inquiries to Jno. Adams Esqr. at Petersburgh by Mr. Hodge (whom I introduced to him), to be made public in Russia in any way he saw proper.[39]

May 15. This day saw the Revd. Mr. Hooker at Mr. Ralston's. He informed me that his father in law, Timy. Edwards,[40] had requested him to call upon some of his neighbouring ministers in Connecticut, and to set apart a certain time once a week to pray in confederacy for the conversion of Col. Burr[41] (now a Vagabond in Europe). The Colonel is nephew to Timy. Edwards and first cousin to Mrs. Hooker.

This day finished "Pathological Remarks upon Certain Diseases of the Liver" for Dr. Coxe's *Museum* and "An Inquiry into the Use of the Thymus Gland" for Dr. Miller's *New York Repository*.[42]

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[38] Charles Thomson, *A Synopsis of the Four Evangelists, in their own Words*, Philadelphia, 1815.

[39] John Quincy Adams was then minister to Russia.

Mr. Hodge has not been identified.

[40] Asahel Hooker, 1762-1813, a Congregational minister born in Connecticut and educated at Yale, held various pastorates in the eastern states (Sprague).

Timothy Edwards, 1738-1813, 6th child of Jonathan Edwards the great divine, was graduated from Princeton 1757, studied law, and married Rhoda Ogden of Elizabeth, N.J., where he settled. In 1771 he moved to Stockbridge, Mass., and engaged in farming. He held a succession of legal and legislative offices in his community.

Phebe Edwards, 1768-1848, daughter of the above, married Asahel Hooker in 1792. He died soon after the visit to Pennsylvania mentioned by BR, and in 1814 she married Samuel Farrer, treasurer of Andover Theological Seminary. Her hospitality and her zest for learning, maintained to an advanced age, were renowned (*Timothy and Rhoda Edwards of Stockbridge, Mass., and their Descendants*, compiled by William H. Edwards, Cincinnati, 1903).

[41] Aaron Burr, 1756-1836, formerly Vice-President of the United States, was then in Europe to escape his creditors.

[42] "Pathological and Practical Remarks upon certain morbid Affections of the Liver," *Phila. Med. Museum*, 1811, n.s., I, 87.

"An Inquiry into the Use of the Thymus Gland" appeared in the *Medical Reposi-*

May 17. This day Dr. Morse,[43] wife, and son, Revd. Mr. Hooker and wife of New England, and Miss Thomas and Miss Beach of South Carolina dined with me. Mrs. Hooker charmed my whole family with her piety, good sense, and dignified manners. She is one of 11 full-grown children. No one of the descendants of her grandfather sustains the clerical character.

May, about the 24th. This day I had the pleasure of the company of the following members of the general Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to dine with me, viz. Revd. Dr. Green, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Reis, Mr. Colhoun, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Potts, and Mr. Ogden (an Elder), of Mr. McDowell's church at Elizabeth town.[44]

June 8. Finished the notes on Pringle.

June 13. This day the Revd. Mr. Sargent informed me that a young man who attended my lectures about 6 years ago, of the name of Latimer,[45] who had been a Deist, was first convinced of the error of his opinions by something delivered by me in one of my lectures incidentally. This conviction, which followed him to the Natches, where he settled for a while as a physician and from whence he was sent as a delegate to Congress, ended finally in his conversion, and he is now a minister of the Gospel.

June 16. This day began to transcribe and recompose my lectures continued from former years. "Incipienti, progredienti, proficienti, sit, O! sit mihi propitius, Deus bonus et maximus!"[46]

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tory, Third Hexade, vol. 2, pp. 83-84. The editor was Dr. Edward Miller, 1760-1812, of New York, a warm friend of BR.

[43] "Dr. Morse" was probably Jedediah Morse, 1761-1826, of Charlestown, Mass., celebrated clergyman and geographer, grandson-in-law of Samuel Finley and father of Samuel F. B. Morse the artist-inventor (DAB).

Miss Thomas and Miss Beach have not been identified.

[44] Ashbel Green and Archibald Alexander have been identified earlier in these notes (see Index).

"Mr. Reis" was the Rev. Dr. John H. Rice, then a missionary to the Negroes of Virginia, later (1812) pastor in Richmond and from 1823 to 1830 professor in the Union Seminary of Virginia (E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, Philadelphia, 1864).

William Calhoun of Staunton, Va. represented the Presbytery of Lexington.

John McDowell, 1780-1863, was then pastor at Elizabeth, N.J.

George C. Potts, 1775-1838, was pastor of the 4th Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia (Sprague).

Mr. Ogden's first name was Robert. See note 277, page 6, regarding the minutes of the Assembly.

[45] William Lattimore, 1774-1843, born in Norfolk, Va., studied medicine; moved to Mississippi; member of Congress from that state 1803-1807, 1813-1817 (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*).

[46] The source of this quotation has not been located.

This day I sent five dollars to Wm. Smith[47] of Carlisle, being a fee for medical advice I had received from him before I heard of his extreme poverty.

June 17. This morning I called at the house of the late Miss Kitty Wagner,[47] who died indebted to me 50 dollars, which I remitted and gave to the support of her mother and sister, who were both maintained by her labor as a mantua maker. On the evening of the same day the brother of D. Hogan[48] sent me a present of 55 dollars in addition to my account against him for attendance to him in his last illness!!!

July 4. Went with my sons Sam and Willm. to the Banks of Schuylkill four miles from town, where we took coffee. While it was preparing I visited a woman of 81 years of age named Britton,[47] in the neighbourhood. She was the daughter of French parents, but born in Germany. She had been near 60 years in America, during which time she had had 13 children, ten of whom had lived to marry and bear children. Nine of them were dead, and the surviving one lived 300 miles from her. She had 13 great grand children. She had long suffered from a pain in her back which confined her to bed. God Almighty (she said) put it into her head to use garlic infused in mint water for it. She did so, and it cured her.

July 26. This morning died Mrs. Haw[49] of the Society of Friends. She had been my patient above 30 years. She was sensible, and had taste and elegance in conversation. In one of my visits to her she said as I entered her room, "here comes my physician, my friend, my opium,"—alluding by the last epithet she applied to me, to the relief my medicines gave her. The night before she died she expressed a strong hope and faith in her Redeemer, and said she believed her robes were washed and made white in his blood.

July 28. This evening was visited by a Christian Turk, a native of Jerusalem.[50] He was dressed in the Turkish habit. He said Jerusalem contained 17,000 inhabitants, that some of the stones of Solomon's temple were still to be seen near where it stood, that 15,000 persons came annually to worship at Jerusalem. He described the Garden of Gethsemine and Mount Calvary, on the summit of which and over the sepulcher of our Saviour were built large churches. While travellers have in vain sought for the spot in Asia where man fell, it is pleasing to reflect that the place where he was redeemed is known, and that both nature and art by their monuments which time has not been able to efface or destroy bear witness to the truth of the history of his Crucifixion. Thus may we not expect all the vestiges and records and consequences of the fall and sin of man will be swallowed up and annihilated by the life and death of the Saviour of the world?

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[47] Not further identified.

[48] The will of Dennis Hogan, gentleman "now resident in the city of Philadelphia" was filed June 15, 1810. It is possible that he was a New Yorker; he does not appear in the Philadelphia *Directories* and some of his heirs lived in New York City.

[49] BR had as patients in 1782, "Capt. Haw and widow" (Index of Accounts, Rush mss.).

[50] The Christian Turk has not been identified.

August 7. This day visited the Revd. Dr. Tennent[51] at Abingdon, whom I found full of peace and hope on what he supposed to be his death bed. On my way home I dined with Dr. Rodgers[52] at Dr. Moore's very pleasantly. I called to see an old woman of 81 years of age at the request of Dr. Moore near his house, of the name of Martha Martin, who knew my father. She told me she was born on the next plantation to his at Biberry, and that her father used to say of him "he would as soon take John Rush's word as any other man's bond."

August 10. Called upon the Revd. Mr. Seargant, a Methodist minister, and suggested to him the possibility of establishing a Methodist congregation and church on the Neck a few miles below the city, where the population was thick and where there was no church of any kind. He was much pleased with the proposal, and said he would immediately lay it before his brethren, who were to meet that night upon other business.

August. Died Wm. Falconer,[53] aged 89, a venerable and excellent Saint and an Elder of Dr. Green's church. He died of the weakness of old age. I visited him during his confinement previously to his death.

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[51] William McKay Tennent, D.D., ca.1749-December 1810, was a nephew of Rev. Gilbert Tennent and grandson of Rev. William Tennent of Log College fame. He was graduated from Princeton in 1763, was pastor of a Congregational church at Greenfield, Connecticut, and of the Presbyterian Church at Abington near Philadelphia 1781-1810. He married a daughter of the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers of New York City (*Genealogical Notes on the Family of Rev. William Tennent*, compiled by Frank R. Symmes, Freehold, N.J., 1926).

[52] This was presumably John R. B. Rodgers, 1763-1833, a prominent physician of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, brother-in-law of the Rev. Dr. William Tennent. The senior Dr. Rodgers, a distinguished clergyman then resident in New York, was enfeebled by age at this time.

Dr. Moore and Martha Martin have not been further identified.

[53] William Falconer, gentleman, 7 Cherry Street (Philadelphia *Directories*, 1809, 1810).

His conversation was sensible, pleasant, and full of anecdotes of good and great men, particularly of the Revd. Mr. Whitefield, whom he knew 70 years ago. After being relieved by a dose of medicine I prescribed for him, he said he had had "a most merciful stool." It was thus he considered the smallest benefits mercies.

September 2. This day my son John came home from the hospital somewhat better, but not well. He returned six days afterwards, much worse.

October 2. Charles Thompson dined with me. He was in his 81st year, animated, chearful, and full of anecdote. He said he lived between 4 and 5 years as a Scholar in the house of the Revd. Dr. Allison[54] when a young man, and that he never saw him smile, nor in a good humor during that time. That he once asked him "What were the decrees of God." He answered he did not know. "What?" said the Doctor, "Not know your catechism?" "No, said Mr. Thompson, I do not." When he is asked what sect he is of, he answers, "Of none; I am a Christian. I believe only in the Scriptures, and in Jesus Christ, my Saviour." He was once a Presbyterian and worshipped in Market Street, but left that Society in consequence of discovering a malignant and unforgiving temper in Dr. Ewing. He said he had supped with old Edward Shippen[55] in the room in which we dined, in 1750, sixty years ago.

October 4. Died Mrs. Mary Watson,[56] a most accomplished School mistress. She was dignified and correct in her manners, feared, respected, and beloved by her scholars, and eminently qualified for her station. The whole city lamented her premature death.

[1811]

March 11. This morning received pleasant letters from my son James and Mary in England.

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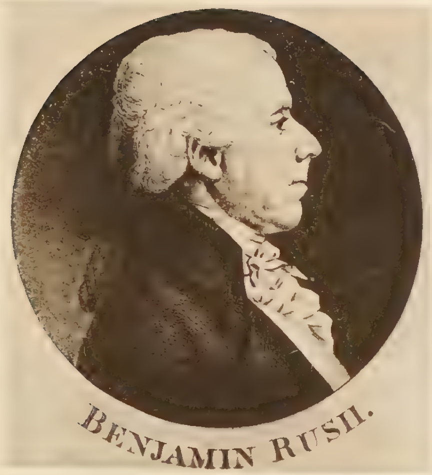
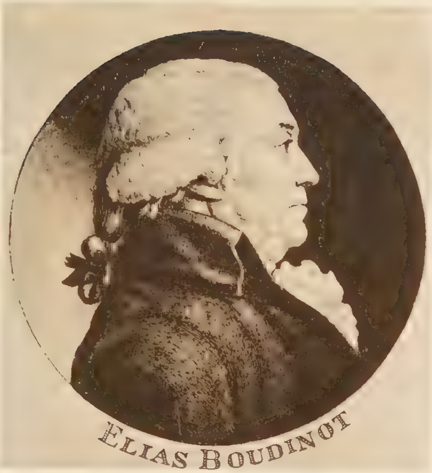
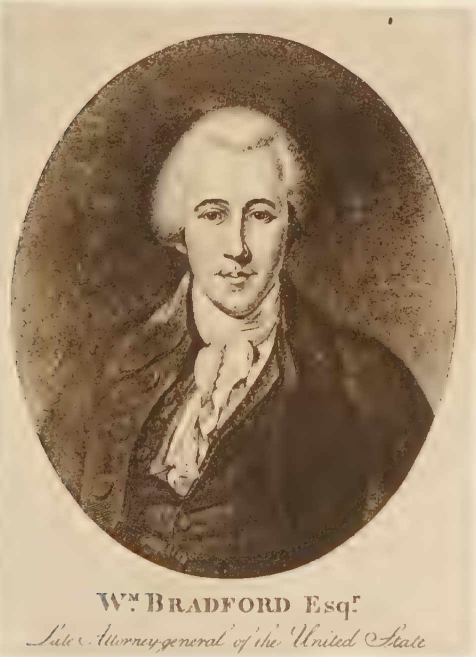
[54] Francis Alison, D.D.

[55] Edward Shippen, 1703-1781, was mayor of Philadelphia in 1747. He removed to Lancaster, Pa., in 1752, where he served as prothonotary. He was one of the founders of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Edward Shippen, 1729-1806, chief justice of Pennsylvania, was his son. (Thomas Balch, *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1855.)

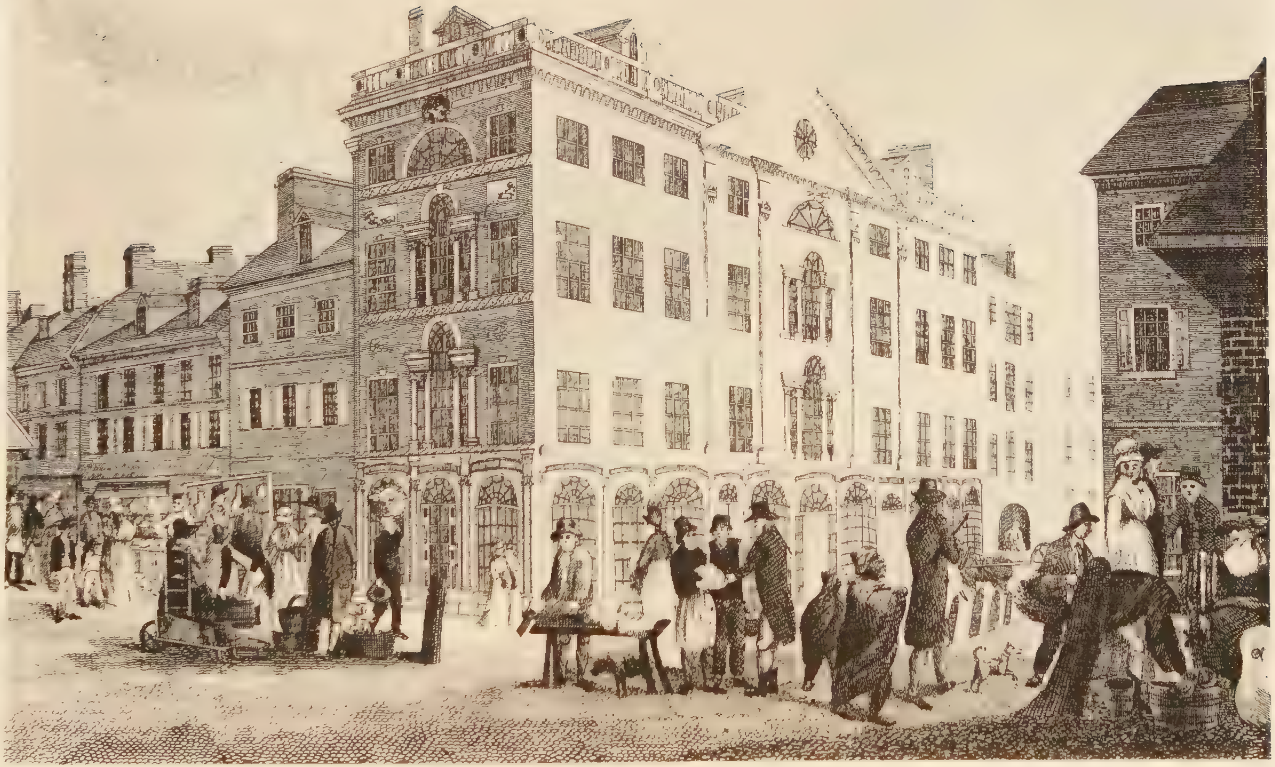
[56] BR's entry is unmistakably dated 1810. The only discoverable pedagogue of this name was a Mrs. Watson, teacher, 138 No. Third Street, who was listed in the 1811 Philadelphia *Directory*, though not in 1807-1809 or 1813.


BENJAMIN RUSH.


ELIAS BOUDINOT


Wm. BRADFORD Esqr.
Late Attorney general of the United State

Three Principals of the Bradford Will Case



A Street Scene (Corner of Third & Market Streets)

At 2 o'clock Mr. Bond[57] called upon me to inform me that my son Richard had crossed the Delaware to fight a duel with Peter R. Brown.[58] I followed him, but to no purpose. At 4 o'clock he returned uninjured. The anguish of my Soul during this interval of suspense was undescribable, as was that of his mother, sister, and brother Benjamin. Glory and praise to God for his deliverance from the consequences of his folly and madness! My distress was much alleviated upon hearing that my son discharged his pistol in the air, and not at his antagonist.

April 13. Miss Ann Clifton died in the 70th year of her age of a dropsy for which she was above 30 times tapped in the course of four years. She was the Survivor of 3 sisters, all very handsome, and one brother. They were the children of a wealthy English apothecary. The ladies were well educated and fashionable. Miss Nancy was uncommonly beautiful when young, and retained the remains of it to the last year of her life. Her manners were polished, and her conversation pleasant and full of anecdote. She had several sincere and affectionate friends among her female acquaintances, but she died and was buried without a single relation to drop a tear upon her pillow or upon her grave. She had a niece at the time of her death, in Baltimore, to one of whose sons she left the greatest part of her estate, and directed that he should adopt the name of Clifton and be baptized and educated in the Church of England.[59]

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[57] Probably Phineas Bond, consul from Great Britain, whose residence at 173 Chestnut Street was near BR's at 98 South Fourth Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1811).

[58] Peter Arrell Browne, 1782-1860, an attorney, was admitted to the bar in 1803. He was deputy attorney-general in 1811, the year of this duel (Martin, *Bench and Bar*). John Rush's tragedy of 1807 had given the family especial reason to dread such encounters.

[59] Anna Maria Clifton's niece Mary, daughter of William Clifton, married Franklin Wharton, 1767-1818, colonel commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. He was stationed at Marine headquarters at Washington when Miss Clifton died, not at Baltimore as BR implies. Colonel Wharton had leave, April 12-May 6, 1811, to proceed to Philadelphia, which suggests that Miss Clifton was not as completely neglected by the family as BR states. An infant son of the couple, the seventh of their eight children, Alfred Wharton, 1810-1854, was the chief beneficiary of Anna Clifton's estate. His name was duly changed to Alfred Wharton Clifton, but his own nine children apparently all resumed the name of Wharton (*Genealogy of the Wharton Family, 1664-1880*, by Ann H. Wharton, Philadelphia, 1880; will of Anna Maria Clifton, Office of the Register of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall; records of U.S. Marine Corps, National Archives). BR was one of the witnesses of Miss Clifton's will, which was drawn up only two days before she died.

May 21. This day sent the following letter to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, then sitting in Philadelphia:

> *Sirs*:
>
> Herewith you will receive a 1000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "An Inquiry into the Influence of Spiritous Liquors upon the Human Body and Mind,"[60] which I beg may be divided among the members of the General Assembly now sitting, in order to be distributed by them in their respective congregations in such a manner as they shall deem most proper to answer the design of its publication.
>
> With sincere wishes for the success of the united and individual labors of the Reverend body in which you have been called to preside, I am, Sir, very respectfully your most
>
> Obedt. Servant
>
> BENJN. RUSH
>
> To the Moderator (Dr. Nott)[61] of the
> Genl. Assembly of the Presbyterian
> Church of the United States.

August 18. Was visited this day by Mrs. R. Blodget[62] and her daughter. They had recently returned from England, where they had been no one could tell for what purpose. Mrs. B. was exactly in person, manner, and conversation what she was when 18 years old—beautiful, sprightly, eloquent, sensible, imprudent, desultory, and censorious. Her conduct was said not to be correct towards our sex, but there were no proofs of this being the case. She wept when we met. She always professed a great attachment to me, and wrote two letters to me from London. See my letter to her upon her marriage, p. 22. She seperated from her husband many years ago, and gave among other reasons for it that he beat her 10 days after their marriage, and often afterwards. See the character of her father, the Revd. Dr. Smith.[63]

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[60] This pamphlet by BR was apparently first printed about 1784. He revised it in 1804. It has been reprinted many times.

[61] Eliphalet Nott, D.D., 1773-1866, president of Union College.

[62] Rebecca Smith, 1772-1837, daughter of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, married in 1792 Samuel Blodgett, a widower with 5 children. (Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of Dr. William Smith*, Philadelphia, 1880). The long and earnest letter of advice about her duties as a wife, written to her by BR at her request before the marriage, was copied into the Commonplace Book as BR states here. It will be published by Mr. L. H. Butterfield in his forthcoming edition of BR's letters.

[63] See pp. 262-265.

September 2. This day I received a handsome ring from the Emperor of Russia[64] by the hands of Wm. Lynch[65] of Philadelphia, to whom it was given in charge by J. Q. Adams, Minister from the United States to the Court of Petersburg. It was presented to me as a mark of the satisfaction of the emperor with my medical works presented to him by Mr. J. Q. Adams. See Mr. Adams's letter to me.[66]

ON THE ORIGIN OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE. The pen, the pencil, the chisel, and the brush from habit partake of the genius that directs them, and now and then as it were involuntarily strike out beauties which were not intended by the hand that guided them, and which cannot be imitated afterwards even by their authors.

September 13. Three packets have arrived from England, two from London in Philadelphia, one in New York from the same place, and several from Liverpool both in New York without bringing me a letter or even a message from my son Dr. James Rush and my daughter Mary Manners, who were both in London at the time those Vessels sailed. The distress I have felt in being thus disappointed, neglected, and ungratefully treated by two children upon whom I have lavished acts of paternal kindness has been to me very great. It has prevented my sleeping, and impaired my health. Lord! lay not this conduct to their charge!

October 11. This day I received a letter from my son, Dr. James Rush, dated New York, October 8th, informing me of his arrival there with his sister and her two children after a very tempestuous and dangerous voyage from Bristol of eight weeks. Had they perished at sea, their family would have been ignorant of their fate for many months, for they had neglected to inform them of the ship in which they had sailed, as well as of the time of their sailing. Blessed be God for their preservation!

November 23. This day it was announced in the "National Intelligencer" that my son Richd. Rush was appointed Comptroller of the United States, and Nov. 25 to my great astonishment and distress he set off for Washington to accept it. I dissuaded him from doing so from the following considerations:

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[64] Alexander I.

[65] William Lynch was possibly the merchant of that name at 226 Spruce Street (Philadelphia *Directories* for 1811, 1813).

[66] For this letter, see Parke-Bernet Galleries, *The Alexander Biddle Papers*, New York, 1943, part II, no. 60.

1. The degradation to which such an office exposed a man of literary and professional talents. It was an office that could be filled by any clerk of a Bank.

2. The vexations and poverty of political life.

3. His comfortable establishment and excellent prospects in Pennsylvania, the State of his ancestors and family.

4. The sickliness of Washington, and the insufficiency of the salary to support a growing family.

5. The dishonor which he would do to his understanding by such an act.

6. My age, also my young family, which required his advice now and would still more require it after my death.

I offered to implore him not to accept of the appointment upon my knees, but all, all to no purpose. Oh my son! my son Richard! May you never be made to feel in the unkindness of a son the misery you have inflicted upon me by this rash conduct! He was dissuaded from it by all his friends, and was blamed for it by most of the citizens of Philadelphia who knew him.

December 30. This day my son and his family set off for Washington to enter upon the humble office he had preferred to the respectable and professional office he held in Pennsylvania.

This day the awful news of the burning of the Theatre in Richmond reached this city, in which above 60 persons, among whom was the Governor of Virginia and many other persons of note perished. It took place on the 26th of this month.[67]

[1812]

February. This month I received a letter from the President of the Imperial Academy of Medicine in Petersburgh informing me that I was elected a member of the said Society.

February 29. This day I finished my lectures. During the whole course it pleased God to give me such a degree of health that I did not disappoint my pupils a single day. In the last two weeks I lectured twice a day five days of each week. I have reason to believe my pupils were satisfied with my lectures. For this favor I desire to be thankful to that Being who alone giveth favor in the eyes of men.

[67] The Richmond Theatre took fire during a performance on the night of Dec. 26, 1811. Seventy-two persons lost their lives. The Governor of Virginia, George W. Smith, escaped from the building but returned to seek his daughter and was burned to death. (W. A. Christian, *Richmond, her Past and Present*, Richmond, Va., 1912.)

TO MRS. JULIA RUSH

BY HER HUSBAND 36 YEARS AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE.

When tossed upon the bed of pain,
And every healing art was vain,
Whose prayers brought back my life again?
My Julia's.

When shafts of scandal round me flew,
And ancient friends no longer knew
My humble name, whose heart was true?
My Julia's.

When falsehood aimed its poisoned dart,
And treachery pierced my bleeding heart,
Whose friendship did a cure impart?
My Julia's.

When hope was weak and faith was dead,
And every earthly joy was fled,
Whose hand sustained my drooping head?
My Julia's.

When worn by age and sunk in years
My shadow at full length appears,
Who shall participate my cares?
My Julia.

When life's low wick shall feebly blaze,
And weeping children on me gaze,
Who shall assist my prayers and praise?
My Julia.

And when my mortal part shall lay
Waiting in hope the final day
Who shall mourn o'er my sleeping clay?
My Julia.

And when the stream of time shall end,
And the last trump the grave shall rend,
Who shall with me to heaven ascend?
June 11, 1812. My Julia.[67a]

[67a] This poem is an imitation of Cowper's "To Mary," first published in 1803 (*Poetical Works of William Cowper*, ed. by H. S. Milford, London, 1926, p. 427).

October 27. Employed myself this summer in transcribing my lectures and in preparing a volume of inquiries &c. on the diseases of the mind for the press.[68] This evening corrected the last proof sheet of it.

Was visited frequently during the month of October by Baron Von Sach,[69] a Prussian nobleman, a modest, well informed gentleman. I gave him at his request two of my pamphlets, and a letter in favor of the domestic origin of the yellow fever. He was a believer in Revelation, and told a pleasant story of Robespear [Robespierre], who said the world was made by chance in a large company, and that there was no hell. "But suppose, said one of the company, there should be a hell made by chance. What then?" Robespear became confused and silent at this question.

Impromptu on hearing of the capture of the Macedonian by the United States frigate commanded by Captain Decaturs[70] on the 6th of October 1812:

"Says Neptune to Britain, 'No more shall you reign
The mistress and tyrant of my wide domain.
The decree is confirmed as proclaimed by the fates.
My mistress hereafter is the United States!' "

[1813]

February. This month a Unitarian place of worship was opened in this city at the corner of 10th and Locust Streets. Mr. Taylor prayed, Mr. Eddowes preached, and Mr. Vaughan conducted the music. The house was crowded. From three persons officiating in the service, all whom are united in principle and conduct, the place of worship was called by a citizen of Philadelphia "Trinity Church."[71]

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[68] *Diseases of the Mind*, Philadelphia, 1812. This was the first American book on psychiatry.

[69] Baron Albert von Sack, Chamberlain to the King of Prussia and Knight of the Order of St. John, made two journeys to Surinam (1805-1807 and 1810-1812), returning to Europe via Philadelphia each time. His published reports, especially that on the second trip, give an interesting picture of Philadelphia. Although von Sack does not mention visiting BR, he prints the letter mentioned by BR, which is dated Sept. 28, 1812, and also a short undated note on the same subject. Further information about von Sack, from German sources, is unavailable at the present writing (Albert von Sack, *Beschreibung einer Reise nach Surinam* [zweite Reise] . . . *in den Jahren 1810, 1811, 1812, so wie von des Verfassers Rückkehr nach Europa über Nord-Amerika*, Berlin, 1821).

[70] Stephen Decatur, 1779-1820, commanding the frigate *United States*, captured the British frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores, October 25, 1812 (DAB).

[71] The Unitarian Society was founded in 1796. The church building was dedicated

February 13. Medical faculty met to determine whether students should attend 3 years and attend Dr. James and Dr. Patterson's lectures. Dr. Barton objected to all the 3 propositions because it would lessen the number of students. Dr. Physick said not: philosophy could not be understood without mathematicks. Dr. Dorsey said some candidates had been rejected who had attended four years in the University, and Dr. Coxe threatened to lecture on hospital days hereafter.[72]

Facts on NATURAL KNOWLEDGE

1792, *March 31*. Went this day with my wife and daughters to see a male lyon 25 months old in Race Street. He was above two feet high, strong, active and fierce. He walked constantly round his cage. His keeper told me that he eat twelve pounds of flesh and drank three quarts of water every day, that he endured the cold of the last winter perfectly well, that he would play with a puppy, but would always tear a dog to pieces.[1]

July 2. Dr. Gordon of St. Croix[2] informed me at my table that the

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Feb. 14, 1813. Ralph Eddowes, who preached the sermon, was a merchant at 324 High (Market) Street, and an active lay preacher. James Taylor was a merchant, at Chestnut Street below Eleventh Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1813).

For John Vaughan, 1755-1841, see p. 204, note 37.

The Unitarian edifice, known as the "octagon church," designed by Robert Mills, was one of the first auditorium-type church buildings in the U.S. (H. M. Gallagher, *Robert Mills, Architect of the Washington Monument*, New York, 1935).

For the dedication, see *Sermon, Addresses and Essays, Delivered at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia*, 1896.

[72] Dr. James (see p. 255, note 36) was lecturing on midwifery.

Robert Patterson, 1743-1824, professor of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania (DAB).

Benjamin Smith Barton (see p. 203) was professor of materia medica at this time.

John Syng Dorsey, 1783-1818, nephew and pupil of Philip Syng Physick, was adjunct professor of surgery (DAB).

John Redman Coxe (see p. 256, note 41) was professor of chemistry.

Two months after this meeting, April 14, 1813, BR was suddenly taken ill, probably with pneumonia. Dr. Dorsey attended him, with Dr. Physick consulting, until his death on April 19.

[1] A lion, almost certainly this same one, was shown in New York, July 1791, and in Boston, October 1794, when according to an advertisement in the *American Apollo* (quoted by R. W. G. Vail, *Proc. Am. Antiquarian Soc.*, 1923, n.s. 43) it was 4½ years old; it had been caught in Africa when a whelp and brought to New York.

[2] John Gordon was physician general under the Danish government at St. Croix from 1793 or earlier until the British occupation in 1801. He was in Denmark in 1803 and was living at Bath, England, in 1805 but died before 1809 (*A Letter to John Haygarth, M.D., F.R.S., from Colin Chisholm, M.D., F.R.S., Author of an Essay on the Pestilential Fever*, London, 1809).

Indians in S. America prevent the jawfall[3] by the cold bath, that he cured only one half of the cases of tetanus that came under his notice, and that horses were very subject to this disorder from accidents, and even from standing in the cool air after being heated.

July 16. Dr. Chas. Brown,[4] who was in Gen. St. Clair's defeat on the 4th of November last, visited the ground in the winter. He says all the dead bodies on the field had the Eyes and genitals only eaten, and one woman her breasts. The bodies which lay on the retreat had no flesh left on their bones, and their bones were generally broken. He supposed that the buzzards had chased the wolves from the field, and that the wolves had eaten those bodies only which fell in the retreat. He saw one sapling which had 27 Balls through it. He slept one night on the field of battle.

Mrs. Ferguson informed me that a woman, Mrs. Knight, near Graeme Park,[5] when pregnant, from seeing a person in fits, had a son who was convulsed, became an idiot, and died at 18. The day he was buried a Mrs. Lukins, who was just pregnant, saw his funeral and asked her husband who it was. Her husband, Peter Lukins, told her it was Mrs. Knight's foolish son, and described his person and manners to her accurately. Mrs. Lukins was much affected with the history and description of the lad, and dreamed of him all night. Soon after, she was delivered of a girl who grew up in every respect an idiot like the boy which had been described to her. She is now alive and 19 years of age.

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[3] This word here signifies lockjaw (tetanus). It is apparently an Americanism, so rare as to have escaped Webster's New International Dictionary in this sense, although the Oxford English Dictionary has it on the authority of a quotation from a letter written by BR (printed in T. S. Pettigrew's *Life of Lettsom*, 1817). The OED defines the word not as lockjaw but as dislocation of the jaw.

In the present instance the word may be read, from BR's handwriting, either as jawfall or jawfull. The former spelling occurs in an article by BR on tetanus which he no doubt proofread (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 1786, II, 230).

[4] A "Doctor Brown, of the levies, who attended the Second regiment" was mentioned favorably and recommended for appointment as regimental surgeon, in a letter from General St. Clair to the Secretary of War, Nov. 17, 1791, two weeks after the battle. (William Henry Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, vol. 2, 267, Cincinnati, 1882.) Dr. Brown has not been further identified.

[5] Graeme Park, at Horsham, Bucks Co., Pa., was the seat of Dr. Thomas Graeme, father of BR's friend Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson (see pp. 116, 320). The Knights and Lukinses have not been further identified.

In this entry BR seems to accept the doctrine of maternal impressions. In the notes on medicine in the Bible, found on page 124 of the ms. Commonplace Book of 1789-1791, but omitted from the present edition for reasons cited in the Introduction (page 12) BR implies disbelief in the doctrine; referring to the Biblical story of the lambs that were marked by placing a row of peeled saplings before their mothers during gestation (Genesis XXX, 31-43), he wrote "The streaks in the sheep miraculous, not to be imitated; proved by the insufficiency of the imagination of mothers to mark their children."

August 1. Chas. Brown informed me that the Indian men despise labor, particularly Agriculture and Horticulture. They have no objection to that work which they can do in sitting still. They hate the sight of a compass and call it a "witch's wheel." They break them when they meet with them, and say that they steal their lands from them. They were very fond of opium and preferred our remedies to their own.

September 11. Isaac Roberdeau,[6] who has been educated a sugar-Baker in England, informed me that the purest sugar was made at St. Kitts, next at Jamaica, next at Barbados, and the worst at Antigua. He once found two feet of earth in a hogshead of sugar, and in general he says the impure sugar contained from 1/15 to 1/20 of Dirt.

November 15. Mr. Jefferson informed me that a French Physician who had practised Physic 60 years in Paris had declared that he had never been called up in the night except to persons who had *supped.*

December 15. Mr. Mecheaux [Michaux],[7] a French Botanist, drank tea with me. He had just returned from a journey of 650 beyond and 150 leagues to the north of Quebec in search of plants. He found there many of the plants of similar latitudes in Europe, among others the Labrador tea. He says that the scattered French people whom he found in that cold country had coarse skins from scorbutic complaints. They lived chiefly on salt meat and seals. Their blood when effused had a color blacker than natural. The Indians who eat wild fruits plentifully escape the scurvy.

1793, January 8. I waited on Mr. Blanchard[8] and requested him to examine the state of his pulse in his aerial voyage which he was to undertake the next day. He promised to do so, and accepted the use of my pulse glass for that purpose.

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[6] Isaac Roberdeau, 1763-1829, born at Philadelphia, visited his father's old place of residence, St. Kitts, about 1780, and spent four years in London. Returning to America he at once began to practise civil engineering. He became a colonel of engineers in the U.S. Army (DAB). BR's statement that he was educated as a sugar baker is inexplicable.

[7] See also p. 220.

[8] François Blanchard, 1753-1809, French aeronaut, was the first to cross the English Channel by air (1785) and made many other important ascents. His Philadelphia flight was the first made in America. It was only 10 years after the pioneer ascensions

January 9. This morning at 10 o'clock I saw Mr. Blanchard ascend from the prison yard. The sight was truly sublime. On his first appearance above the wall there was an universal cry of, "Oh! oh! Good voyage!" &c. from several thousand spectators, many of whom had come from New York, Baltimore, and other distant parts to see it. The city was so crowded that it was difficult for strangers to get lodgings at taverns, and the theatre was so crowded this evening that several hundred people returned without getting in.

January 24. Mr. Blanchard drank tea with me. He said he once ascended six miles, that blood came into his mouth, that the sleepiness he felt when he ascended was owing to the lightness, and not the coldness of the air. That his thirst was intolerable in one of his ascensions, and that he had relieved it by receiving into his hat the drops of a cloud which collected and descended on his balloon into his car. That the pleasure of sailing in the air was very great. That the mercury in Fahrenheit once fell to 40° below 0 in one of his flights and that his ink froze suddenly.

April 17. Dr. Van Rohr[9] informed me that the accounts of the efficacy of the Lizard in curing Leprosy in Spain were true. That the Lizard fed on a poisonous Spider called Rana [Aranea] Avicularis, and that the flesh of the Lizard when eaten operated on the kidneys, and pores, and sometimes on the stomach and bowels very powerfully.

The Doctor had lived 40 years in the West Indies, chiefly in St. Croix, and had visited South America at the expense of the King of Denmark in quest of natural knowledge. He was a German by birth, very learned and sensible, aged 59. He spoke highly of the intellec-

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by the Montgolfiers and others at Paris in 1783. Blanchard was in the air 45 minutes and landed near Woodbury, New Jersey. The pulse-counts suggested by BR make him America's first contributor to aviation physiology.

For a detailed account of the flight see *The First Air Voyage in America*, by Carroll Frey (with a facsimile of Blanchard's *Journal of my Forty-fifth Ascension, being the First Performed in America*, Philadelphia, 1793), published by Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia, 1943.

[9] Julius Philip Benjamin van Rohr, 1733?-1792, born at Merseburg, studied medicine at Halle, but left Germany to settle in Denmark. Being appointed royal surveyor in the Danish West Indies, he resided and practised medicine in the islands until 1791. He held various responsible appointments, including those of superintendent in chief of the royal fortresses and inspector general of the board of works of the Danish West Indies. In 1792 he was transferred to governmental service in the Danish colony of Guinea, which was founded in 1658. The ship which was to convey Van Rohr to his new post foundered at sea and he appears to have lost his life in the shipwreck. (Information from Dr. K. Bröste, Anatomical Institute of the University of Copenhagen.)

tual and moral faculties of the negroes. A black man travelled with him who was his intelligencer in every strange place that he visited. He was, he said, a Botanist and a philosopher. He had been taught morality by his father by means of fables, many of which the Doctor said were original and truly sublime. He gave the Doctor such an account of plants in Africa as enabled him to class them by Linnaeus, and he satisfied him that the *monoceros* or Unicorn existed in Africa, also many other nondescript animals. The Doctor was on his way by order of the King of Denmark to establish a free colony on the coast of Africa in the latitude of 5° in order to introduce civilization among the Africans. He spoke in high terms of Frederic, the Prince of Denmark.[10] That his salary was 30,000 dollars, and that he gave away 27,000 to public uses. That he visited the free schools of Copenhagen and even attended to the healthy structure of the school houses. One of the former kings of Denmark, the Doctor said, had declared that if men knew the weight of a crown as well as he did, they would not pick it up in the street.

Health of Seamen and Sugar. The Surgeon of the Il Constante, a large India ship, informed me August 7, 1793 that out of 70 sailors there had been no death in two years, four months of which they spent in China, where three or four of them had the flux. At sea they were kept clean, and drank every day 2 oz. of sugar with 2 lb. of water. They used wine only after fatigue.

1794, February 10. Dr. Johnson,[11] who had lived 14 years in the East Indies, drank tea with me this afternoon, and gave me the following information: 1. That the influence of the moon was perceptible at its full and change 2000 [200 miles] from the tides. He confirms Dr. Balfour's[12] facts. 2. That he never had better health than while he lived among the Bramins wholly on vegetables for five years. That he drank no wine during this time, but that all his vegetables were well spiced. Quaere: Do the spices fortify the alimentary canal chiefly?

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[10] Frederick VI, 1768-1839, crown prince of Denmark, who in 1784 took the reins of government from his incompetent father Christian VII, becoming king when the latter died in 1808.

[11] Dr. Johnson has not been identified.

[12] Francis Balfour (ca. 1740-1816), a surgeon in the service of the East India Company, published at Calcutta in 1784 *A Treatise on the Influence of the Moon in Fevers*, in which he claimed that fevers are under the direct influence of the moon, and reach their critical stage with the full moon. The book was reprinted at Edinburgh and London in 1795. Cooch Behar, where Balfour made his earlier observations, is roughly 200 miles from tidewater, hence the suggested emendation of BR's meaningless "2000 from the tides."

That he often drank a pleasant emulsion made from Poppies. During this time he lived in a sickly country, but was always healthy, and his faculties uncommonly clear. 3. That the Arabs feed their horses with the roots of grass, which are more nourishing than the blades. 4. That the Bramins complain of the breath of the Europeans who live on animal food being offensive. 5. That the Europeans in the East Indies are great eaters. 6. That a colony of Persians who expose the bodies of their dead at Sourat [Surat] to the sun (their god) are not infected by their putrefaction. 7. That he had lain 8 hours in an earth bath, and found it very comfortable. That Dr. Graham[13] recommends it for Rheumatism, stiff joints, and sores of all kinds. The earth should be well dried and crumbled a day or two before by the sun. 8. That the Arabs cure stumbling in a horse by blindfolding him, which makes him lift his legs. Mr. Irvine[14] added that blindfolding a horse tamed him by producing fear. Mr. Priestly said a man in England tamed wild horses by keeping them awake all night. He stayed in the stable with them.

Dr. Johnson said a few days afterwards that a person with red hair, as Danes and other northern men, by marrying East India women had children like the Europeans, but no other European had such children by such marriages.

September 20. A young German physician informed me that 86 physicians and surgeons had died with camp diseases in the Austrian Army since the commencement of the war with France.

September 21. Dr. Blythe of Georgetown, South Carolina breakfasted with me. He had just returned from the Sweet Springs in Virginia. He said the heat of the water was between 60° and 70°. That the country around it was uncommonly cool, but fruitful. That the water was disagreeable at first to the taste, but that after a while it became very agreeable, and that he became more attached to it than to tobacco. Some people drank ten gallons of it in a day.

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[13] James Graham, 1745-1794, a famous quack doctor, studied at Edinburgh under the same teachers as BR. He lived in Philadelphia for two years about 1772, and afterwards had a sensational career in London. One of his books was *A Short Treatise on the . . . All Healing Qualities of the Simple Earth . . . and of the best Methods of Earth-Bathing*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1790 (DNB).

[14] Mr. Irvine has not been identified. Mr. Priestley was probably Joseph Priestley's eldest son Joseph, 1768-1833, then living at Northumberland, Pa.

September 29. Mr. Stewart[15] informed me that in the Eastern countries, especially Smyrna, when the plague raged the provident people kept a tub of water at their doors and washed everything in it that came into their houses except bread and vegetables. A man once caught the plague by touching the string of the latch of his door, which had been touched by a person infected with it.

October 8. He says the Turks had no fear of the plague. They dreaded evil only when *present.* They had no fear of artillery, because they did not see it. They feared only the Bayonet in war.

1796, July 27. Visited Harry Moss,[16] an African born in Virginia. His grandfather was an African by birth, his grandmother an Irishwoman. But his father was black, and his mother nearly so. Four years ago he began to grow white, first at his fingernails, then on the back of his neck. The parts that were covered and sweated advanced most rapidly in whiteness, his face slowest. His skin was exactly like a white man. No rubbing accelerated it. The black skin did not come off, but changed. He has two brothers, in whom no change has taken place. The hairs on his body are white—no change on his wool—is grey. No previous change in his manner of living. Has a wife, but no children. [*A broadside dated July 23, 1796, advertising the exhibition of Harry Moss at Leech's Black Horse Tavern in Market Street, is pasted into the ms. here.*]

1797, March. Dr. Priestley informed me that he knew a Mr. Clayton, a minister formerly of Liverpool, whose pulse was always at 100 and 120. After an attack of fever it became natural and he lost all his hair.

On the same day Judge Turner[17] informed me that in the new country in the Northwest Territory the flowers grow in tribes of one color, and that the medicinal plants generally had blue flowers.

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[15] This was evidently John ("Walking") Stewart, in America for the second time (see p. 209).

[16] Harry Moss was evidently suffering with leucoderma, a rare disease which is still quite unexplained. Charles Caldwell in his *Autobiography*, Philadelphia, 1855 says that the case engrossed public attention for about two months, and that Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton made an extensive study of the man. Caldwell used the case as evidence in controversial articles about the origin of races (See Albert H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors*, Philadelphia, 1892).

[17] George Turner, 1750-1843, was a Revolutionary officer from South Carolina. Washington appointed him judge of the Northwest Territory in 1789. (Lanman, *Biog. Annals of the Civil Govt. of the U.S.*, Washington, 1876.)

July 14. Went to see a "learned pig." He was a year old, was about 1/2 a foot high, and had cost the owner 1000 Dollars. He distinguished all the letters in the alphabet on cards and picked them up with his mouth, he spelled every word that was told him by bringing the letters of which those words were composed and laying them at his owner's feet. He did several small sums in addition, subtraction, and multiplication, he distinguished colors, and lastly he told the name of the card taken out of a pack, by taking up with his mouth the corresponding card from a pack on the floor.[18]

November. Dr. Pinkard, physician to the British troops in the West Indies informed me that 75 medical men belonging to the British army had lately died there in one year of the yellow fever.

Mr. Young, the bookseller, informed me that three things distressed him during the prevalence of the yellow fever in 1797, viz. the poverty and distress of the citizens; 2, the Dissensions of the Physicians over open graves; and 3, the repeated demands that were [made] of him for playing cards.

December 17. Mr. Wm. Russell[19] told me that Dr. Elisha Hall of Fredericktown kept two cows and two horses on the cuttings of 1/4 of an acre of Lucerne and 1/4 of an acre of clover during the summer. He cut the Lucerne 8 times in the course of the summer.

December 29. I saw a Dwarf born in Massachusetts of parents of a common size. He was 7 years old, twenty-six inches high, weighed 12 lb. and ½, was sprightly and in good health. His name was Calvin Phillips.[20]

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[18] The learned pig was shown in Boston the next year, when, as Rev. William Bentley noted in his diary, it performed the same feats and "greatly exceeded his expectations" (See references in note 20, below, on the dwarf, Calvin Phillips).

[19] Presumably William Russell, gentleman, 319 High Street, (Philadelphia *Directory* for 1797). There was a grocer of the same name at 308 North Front Street.

Dr. Hall, the thrifty farmer, may have been either Elisha Hall, ca.1752-1814, BR's apprentice in 1771, who practised at Fredericksburg, Virginia, or an Elisha John Hall, then at Frederick, Maryland. The latter was presumably the same as BR's apprentice of that name in 1782. He was a cousin of the other Elisha Hall. He practised medicine in Baltimore County, Md. in the early 1800's. (Ms. List of Apprentices; Eugene Cordell, *Medical Annals of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1903; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VIII, 1913.)

[20] Calvin Phillips, born at Bridgewater, Maine, was exhibited by a Mr. Bryant in various New England cities and towns during the summer of 1797 and in New York in November and early December. He was in New York again in 1801 but is lost sight of thereafter (R. W. G. Vail, "Random Notes on the History of the Early American Circus," *Proc. Am. Antiquarian Soc.*, n.s., 1933, 43; *Diary of William Bentley, D.D.*, Salem, Mass., 1907, II).

1798, July 26. Jno. Duffield[21] informed me that his son aged 24 was the only survivor of a class of 15 boys who were at school with him.

1812. During the months of September, October, and November, the subject of conversation has been about a discovery of perpetual motion by a man of the name of Readhuffer near Germantown.[22] Many believed and many disbelieved in the supposed discovery. I was among the latter class of citizens. My reasons for not believing in it were: 1. It was contrary to the generally received laws of motion and matter. 2. It was contrary to just ideas of the divine government, who has never created an automaton, and who administered every part and moves every wheel in the great machinery of his own Government with his own hand. 3. Many facts were circulated that tended to create a belief that the man himself did not believe in his supposed discovery and that he had contrived it only to obtain money, in which he succeeded. His price was a Dollar for a sight of it. Hundreds saw it daily.

Singular & USEFUL Facts

1801, September 28. Mr. Sam Coates informed me that there was now at Abington a Quaker preacher who was one of 13 children, the youngest of whom was above 45, all of whom are now living. Their father lived to be above 80, and was a native of Pennsylvania.

December. Mr. Knight[23] informed me that his grandfather brought some apple and pear seeds to Pennsylvania with Wm. Penn in 1682 and planted them the same year at Abington. Twenty of those trees he said are now living.

December 17. This day visited a child of Mr. McKensie[23] from Jamaica of 20 months old, whose mother at that time was not 15 years old.

1808. Thomas Morris[24] told me at the P[ennsylvania] Hospital that his son's wife had borne seven children, and that they were all born on a Friday.

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[21] John Duffield, merchant, 11 South Front Street and John Duffield, dealer in hardware, 64 Market Street, were listed in the Philadelphia *Directory* for 1798.

[22] An account of this episode is given by Scharf and Westcott, I, 561-562. The "inventor" was Charles Redheffer of Germantown. The machine was taken so seriously that the legislature considered the possibility of using the principle in the public works. Robert Fulton was credited with having publicly demonstrated the fraudulent character of the machine.

[23] Not identified.

[24] Thomas Morris, 1745-1809, a carpenter and builder, was Overseer of Public

January. Saw Mrs. Barnhill,[25] who told me she and two sisters (all above 70) lived together after having each of them brought up and settled families of children, that they were necessary to each other's happiness and uneasy when seperated for more than 3 or 4 hours.

1811, November. Branch Green[26] informed me that in a school lately opened in the Northern liberties by the Revd. Mr. May, consisting of 120 children of different ages up to 10 years, not more than 20 knew who made them.

December 6. General Henry Lee[27] called upon me and requested me to introduce him to two Spanish gentlemen from the Carraccas. He informed me that in visiting the western parts of Virginia, Rock Ridge County, last summer, he was entertained by a farmer of the name of Campbell, who had lived 30 years with 20 in the family without a single death or birth in it. There were three married pairs on his farm (negroes) besides himself and wife, who had lived together 30 years without issue.

1812, December 15. This day I received twenty dollars from Mrs. Bravo[28] from Jamaica for attendance upon her husband who died in this city. I did not expect the payment of this bill, having seldom, or perhaps never received the payment of a bill under equal circumstances. Mrs. Bravo was a Jewess. Blush Christians! who forget or neglect to practice similar acts of justice.

Deaths of Persons of Note or Singular Character

1801, August. Wm. Wister,[29] aged 56, a batchelor who had accumulated a large estate of 300,000 dollars by the sale of British dry

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Schools and was a member of the Committee for building the Philadelphia Library and Westtown Friends' School. He was on the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital 1793-1809 (R. C. Moon, *The Morris Family in Philadelphia, Descendants of Anthony Morris, 1624-1721*, Philadelphia, 1898-1909).

[25] Presumably Sarah Barnhill, shopkeeper, 13 North Third Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1808).

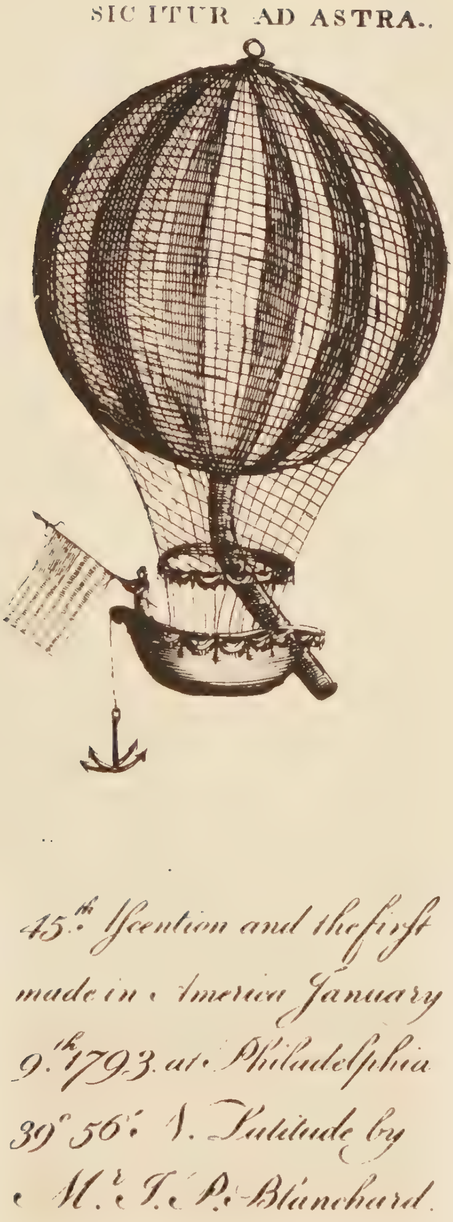
[26] Branch Green, stoneware factory, Second Street above Germantown Road (Philadelphia *Directories* for 1811, 1813).

Nothing more has been learned about Mr. May.

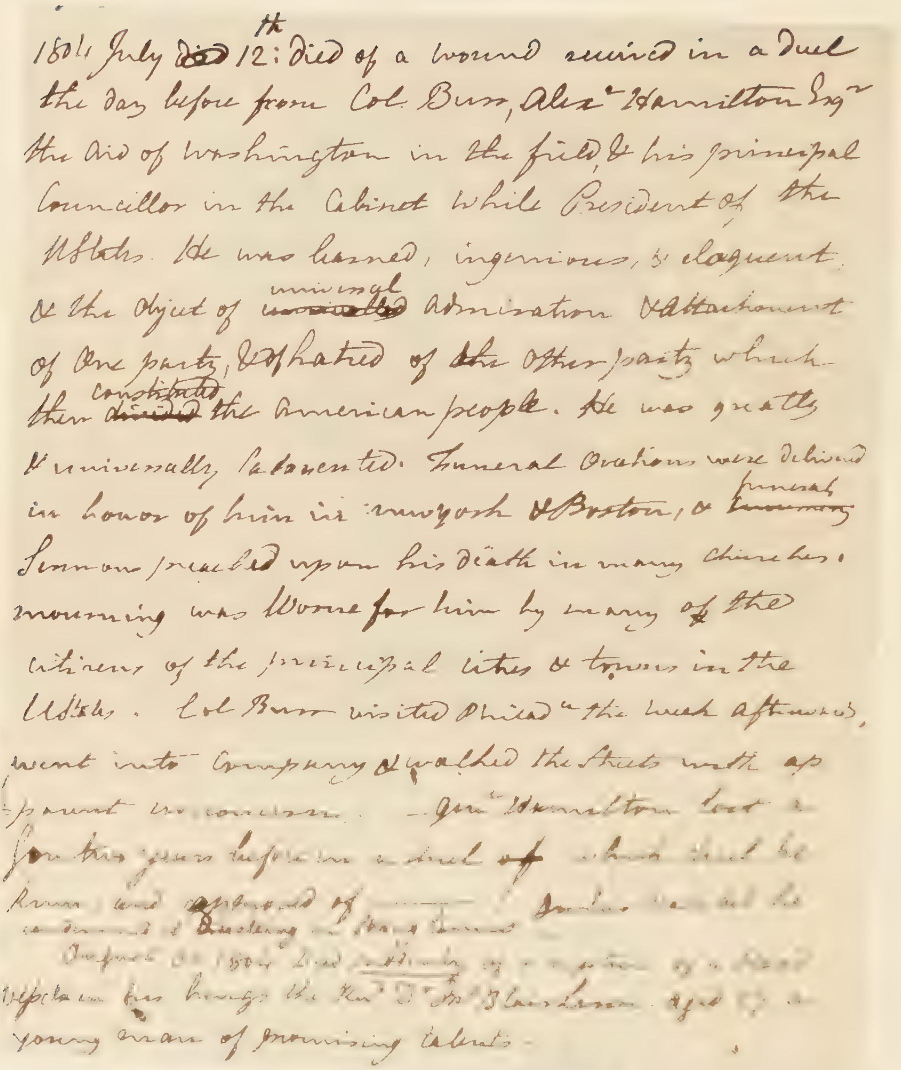
[27] Henry Lee ("Light-horse Harry"), 1756-1818, distinguished Revolutionary general (DAB).

[28] Mrs. S. Bravo's letter covering this payment, written from Kingston, Jamaica, Nov. 9, 1812, is *B 1 Rush mss., 89.*

[29] William Wister, ca.1745-1801, was a member of "the house of Wistar, Wistar, and Price, merchants" (*Philadelphia Repository*, 1, 1801). His will shows that he


SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.
45th Aſcention and the first
made in America January
9th 1793 at Philadelphia
39° 56' N. Latitude by
Mr. J. P. Blanchard.

Blanchard's Balloon Ascension, 1793



1804 July 12th: died of a wound received in a duel
the day before from Col. Burr, Alexr Hamilton Esqr
the Aid of Washington in the field, & his principal
Councillor in the Cabinet while President of the
U States. He was learned, ingenious, & eloquent,
& the Object of universal Admiration & attachment
of One party, & of hatred of ~~the~~ Other party which
then ~~divided~~ constituted the American people. He was greatly
& universally lamented. Funeral Orations were delivered
in honor of him in New York & Boston, & ~~mourning~~ funeral
Sermons preached upon his death in many Churches.
mourning was Worne for him by many of the
citizens of the principal cities & towns in the
U States. Col Burr visited Philada the week afterwards,
went into Company & walked the Streets with ap-
-parent unconcern. — Genl Hamilton lost a
son two years before in a duel of which [illegible] he
knew and approved of [illegible]. Duelling [illegible]
condemned & Duelling [illegible]
August 30 1804 Died suddenly of a rupture of a blood
vessel in his lungs the Revd Dr Jno Blackburn aged [illegible] a
young man of promising talents.

A Page of the Commonplace Book, 1804

goods. He was kind, charitable, generous, friendly, and even just. He had one vice, viz. an unlimited commerce with women. He had four mistresses in keeping when he died. He divided his estate justly by will among his relations. He was a Quaker by education, but in consequence of his dying in the house of one of his mistresses, the Society in which he was educated refused to allow him a grave in their burying ground. He was interred in the Baptist Churchyard by the influence of his Brother in law, Col. Miles.

August 29. Robert Bass,[30] aged near 80. He came to America with General Braddock in 1755 as an apothecary to his army, and settled after the war in Philadelphia. He was neat and correct in his manner of putting up his medicines, which gave him a great deal of business as an apothecary. He accumulated a genteel estate, but was beloved by no one, being cynical, selfish, and often rude to his customers.

September 17. George Roberts, a wealthy respectable citizen, of a cancer of near 20 years continuance.

Dr. David Jackson,[31] a worthy useful man.

Dr. James Hall, my former pupil and partner. He lived 8 years in my family, during which time I never knew him to equivocate, much less to lye. He was amiable in his temper, and elegant in his manner. By marrying into an intemperate family he learned to drink. It was continued by habit, until it destroyed him.

1802, April 25. Dr. Enoch Edwards,[32] my first pupil thirty-one years ago. He was idle and dissipated when a young man, but when

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was the son of John Wister and that his home was in Third Street. He was probably a cousin of Dr. Caspar Wistar; see the *Autobiography of Isaac Jones Wistar*, Philadelphia, 1937, for the family history and an explanation of the two spellings of the name.

[30] Robert Bass, apothecary, 114 Market Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1801).

Edward Braddock, 1695-1755 (DNB), arrived in America February 1755 as commander in chief of the British forces and was defeated by the French and Indians near Fort Duquesne July 19 of that year.

[31] BR is oddly brief about David Jackson, ca.1747-1801, whose services as patriot, physician and apothecary were important enough to be recorded in DAB. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1785, a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, an alderman of Philadelphia and a member of the American Philosophical Society. His second son, Samuel Jackson, 1787-1872, was a distinguished physician (DAB).

[32] Enoch Edwards, 1751-1802, of Lower Dublin, Philadelphia County, became BR's apprentice in 1770. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in June 1776, surgeon to the Philadelphia battalion of the Flying Camp in the same year, and afterwards an aide on the staff of General Lord Sterling. He was justice of the peace of

he settled became an active, intelligent, and useful member of Society, and a friendly, worthy man. He arranged everything relative to his funeral before he died, and even named the Joiner who was to make his coffin.

April 26. Jno. Stille.[33] He had been my Taylor near 40 years, and I had been the Physician of his family above 30 years. His understanding and knowledge were far above his occupation. He was amiable in his manners, and respected by everyone. He had not an enemy. I never heard any person speak against him.

November 16. This night at 12 o'clock died my excellent friend the Revd. Wm. Marshall. We settled in Philadelphia in the same year, viz. 1769, and lived in the most uninterrupted friendship ever since. He was a profound divine, an eminent Christian and systematic preacher, and a most instructing and entertaining companion. He built by his influence two Presbyterian Churches during his life in Philadelphia. I loved him sincerely and deplored his death affectionately. A few hours before he died he squeezed my hand with his hand, which was cold with the coldness of death. Ah! my friend, my friend! not lost, but gone before! Many and delightful were the hours we passed together! and much of what I know of many subjects connected with theology I derived from his conversation. During his illness he spoke frequently upon religious subjects, and always with his usual good sense. Upon my complaining of my inability to save life where I was most anxious to do it, he said, "Oh! Doctor, there is an awful decree against the certainty of your profession, viz. 'It is appointed for all men once to die.'" Upon my complaining at another time of the abortive issue of many of my plans for promoting the happiness of my fellow citizens, he said, "Don't be uneasy upon that account. Our Saviour will say at the Day of Judgement, 'Well done, thou *faithful*, not thou *successful* servant.' Let this comfort you under all your disappointments. If you have been faithful, it will be enough." He was unwilling to believe himself dying. When asked about half an hour before he died by his nephew if he had anything to say about

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Philadelphia County 1777-1789, delegate to the constitutional ratifying convention 1787, member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention 1789-1790. Governor Mifflin appointed him associate judge 1791-1802. (Ms. List of Apprentices; "Sketches of the Members of the Pennsylvania Convention," by W. H. Egle, *Penna. Mag. Hist. Biog.*, 1887, XI; *Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, 1745-1821, Philadelphia, 1883.)

[33] John Stille, merchant taylor, 40 South Front Street, was listed in all the Philadelphia *Directories* from the first one (1785) to 1802.

his affairs to say it, for that he had not long to live, "Why (said he) do you suppose me to be dying?" "Yes, I do," said his nephew. "You are very much mistaken, said he, I am not."

1804, July 12. Died of a wound received in a duel the day before from Col. Burr, Alexander Hamilton, Esq., the Aid of Washington in the field and his principal councillor in the Cabinet while President of the United States. He was learned, ingenious, and eloquent, and the object of universal admiration and attachment of one party, and of hatred of the other party which then constituted the American people. He was greatly and universally lamented. Funeral orations were delivered in honor of him in New York and Boston, and funeral sermons preached upon his death in many churches. Mourning was worn for him by many of the citizens of the principal cities and towns in the United States. Col. Burr visited Philadelphia the week afterwards, went into company, and walked the streets with apparent unconcern. General Hamilton lost a son two years before in a duel, which duel he knew and approved of! On his deathbed he condemned duelling in strong terms.[34]

August 30. Died suddenly of a rupture of a blood vessel in his lungs the Revd. Dr. Jno. Blair Linn,[35] aged 27, a young man of promising talents.

August 30. ——— a maiden lady died, aged 73. Her time during her illness was chiefly taken up in disposing of about £400 which she had accumulated with great industry and economy, and in giving directions respective [to] her interment. She was just, kind, and friendly in life.

October 1. This evening died in consequence of falling in the fire Mrs. M. McClenachan,[36] wife of Blair ditto. She lived but 4 hours afterwards, said she felt no bodily pain, but pain of mind only.

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[34] BR's tribute to Hamilton was generous, in view of the fact that the latter had vetoed his election to a professorship in Columbia University Medical School, New York, in 1797. (Goodman, p. 211.) Hamilton's opposition to BR at that time was based on medical as well as political differences; Hamilton had decried BR's treatment of yellow fever in the epidemic of 1793 (*Old Family Letters relating to the Yellow Fever, Philadelphia*, 1892, BR's letter to his wife, Nov. 3, 1793, p. 99).

[35] John Blair Linn, 1777-1804, was a son of Dr. William Linn, president successively of Washington, Rutgers and Union Colleges. He was graduated from Columbia College and read law with Alexander Hamilton. He published several poetical works and a novel, and engaged in a published controversy with Joseph Priestley. At the time of his death he was joint pastor of the First Presbyterian Church (Albert H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors*, Philadelphia, 1892).

[36] Mrs. Blair McClenachan was Ann Darrach of Germantown (N. S. Barratt, *Out-*

About the same time died of laudanum Dr. Thos. Ruston. He had been my Schoolmate and Classmate 4 years, and we grew up in friendship for each other. After succeeding to an estate of 40,000 guineas by the death of his father in law he lost all the habits of innocence, friendship, and benevolence of his early life, and became a sordid speculator and an oppressor even of some branches of his own family. He spent the above sum in five years, and came a Bankrupt out of jail. He reduced his family to great poverty and distress. After his misfortunes &c. he attempted to pay his addresses to two of the richest widows in Philadelphia, and of the most respectable character and families. Though treated by every possible indignity by them, he believed one of them to be partial to him, and he called upon Bishop White to attend at her house on a certain evening to marry them. He was the object of the contempt and pity of the whole city.

1808, March 19. Died my venerable and excellent preceptor in medicine, Dr. Jno. Redman, aged 86 years and nearly one month. His death was induced by an apoplexy which continued 22 hours. See account of his death and character in Poulson's paper of Wednesday following, and in Dr. Coxe's Museum.[37]

September. This month died my worthy friend and correspondent, John Montgomery Esq.[38] of Carlisle, in the 87th year of his age. He was a man of sound sense and great zeal in the cause of Religion and Learning. The College of Carlisle was indebted greatly to his labors for its existence. He retained his faculties and continued his usefulness to the last week of his life. His two last letters to me written a few weeks before his death discovered not the least decay of intellect. Blest Saint! A Dieu!

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line of the History of Old St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, 1919). No contemporary notice of her death has been discovered.

[37] References of this sort usually indicate something written by BR himself. "Poulson's paper" was the *American Daily Advertizer.* The "Memoir of the Life and Character of John Redman, M.D.," in John Redman Coxe's *Philadelphia Medical Museum*, V, 1818, 49, contains strong internal evidence of BR's authorship, although it is attributed to Coxe by DAB.

[38] John Montgomery, 1722-1808, a native of Ireland, came to America as a young man. He was a frontiersman, farmer, man of property and a staunch Presbyterian. Without formal schooling he became justice of the peace, burgess, associate justice of the local court, and a trustee of Dickinson College. Montgomery was a member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety in 1775, colonel of militia 1775-1776, member of the Continental Congress 1782-1783. His friendship with BR was uninterrupted for 33 years, and their correspondence, preserved at the Library Company of Philadelphia, is the chief source of the early history of Dickinson College (James Henry Morgan, *Dickinson College, The History of One Hundred and Fifty Years*, Carlisle, Pa., 1933).

October 28. Last night died my wife's aunt, Mrs. Hannah Boudinot, wife of Elias Boudinot, at Burlington, in the 72nd year of her age. She was an excellent woman and a shining example of Christian virtue and piety. She never took the least part in her husband's nefarious attempts to rob me of my Character and Thos. Bradford of his property.[39] The lines of Lord Lyttleton on his first wife[40] are strictly applicable to her. She was

"Polite as if at courts she had always been
And good, as if the world she had never seen."

November 22. This morning died aged 56 Mrs. Martha Magaw,[41] wife of the Revd. Dr. Magaw. She was the only daughter of And. Doz and educated with great tenderness and care. She possessed a masculine understanding and masculine virtues. Among the latter were a high sense of honor and character. She was twice married. To her first husband she was a nurse, for he became consumptive soon after she married him. With her second husband she enjoyed but little happiness, occasioned by the bad behaviour of one of his sons, by the weakness bordering upon fatuity of the other one, and by an unfortunate marriage and great distress of his daughter. During the last 15 or 20 years of her life she was often confined with acute diseases, and seldom free from a chronic disease. Her last illness was tedious and painful, and her pains in dying uncommonly severe and protracted. But under all these afflictions she was patient, pious, resigned, and often chearful. Upon one occasion she asked me in her last illness whether I thought she would die before morning. I said no, there was no danger of that event. "Danger, danger!" said she, "Doctor, I am longing for the hour of my departure." She died a few weeks afterwards, full of hope and faith. She was my early, my sincere, and my constant friend.

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[39] Hannah Stockton Boudinot, sister of Richard Stockton. The remark about her husband's "nefarious attempts" refers, no doubt, not only to the lawsuit over William Bradford's will (Appendix 4), but also to a quarrel in 1802 (not mentioned in these mss.) between BR and Elias Boudinot over the administration of the U.S. Mint (F. H. Stewart, *History of the First United States Mint*, Philadelphia, 1924).

[40] George, first Baron Lyttleton, 1709-1773, "To the Memory of Lucy Lyttleton," 1747 (*The English Poets*, edition of 1810, XIV, 182).

[41] Another daughter of Andrew and Rebecca Doz, baptized in 1760, presumably died in infancy. Martha Doz was born in 1750 (Parish Register of Christ Church). Her first husband was Col. Benjamin Flower, who died in 1781 (scrapbook of Henry Dubois, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). N. S. Barratt, *Outline History of Old St. Paul's Church*, Philadelphia, 1917, says that Lucia Magaw, Samuel M.'s first wife, to whom he was married in 1775, and who died in 1790, was a daughter of Andrew Doz, but there is no contemporary evidence of this.

1809, June 5. This day died of an apoplexy succeeded by a palsy induced six days before (at night) Dr. James Woodhouse,[42] Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. He was a neat experimentor, but was averse from principles in Chemistry. A person of genius who heard several of his lectures said he was a mere *fac totum*, meaning that his lectures contained nothing but facts. He was an open and rude Infidel, and often offended or shocked by his abuse of Christianity. He even threw out at times insinuations against it in his lectures. His opinions and conduct were regulated by Rochfoucault's Maxims.[43] His manners were gross and vulgar. He was my pupil and assisted me in my labors in 1793, in consequence of which I procured him by my influence his Professorship. He was not only ungrateful, but he united with my enemies and became the most indecent among them. I never resented his behaviour, but always treated him with civility. He was attached to no human being, spoke ill of everybody, and lived at variance with his own relations. He was intemperate for several years before he died. I attended him in his last illness. Before the attack of apoplexy he was sensible, but unable to speak.

Though a medical Professor he scouted the utility of medicine upon all occasions.

June 26. This evening died in the 76th year of his age my excellent friend and patient, Henry Drinker. He was a man of uncommon understanding, and great suavity and correctness of manners. He possessed talents and judgement in business which would have qualified him for the office of a Secretary of State. He was an elder in the Society of Friends, by whom he was universally esteemed, and beloved. His life was peaceable and his death equally so. Dear friend ADieu!

September 2. This day heard of the death of the Revd. Dr. John Hay.[44] This clergyman came to Philadelphia about five years ago, strongly recommended for piety, zeal, and talents. His object was to establish a settlement of English emigrants in the new lands of

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[42] James Woodhouse, 1770-1809, was an apprentice of BR (enrolled 1787) before attending the University of Pennsylvania medical school. He was chosen professor of chemistry in 1795. BR underrates him in this characterization. He introduced exact methods of gravimetry into American chemistry, and in a controversy with Priestley dealt the final blow to the phlogiston theory which had impeded knowledge of combustion (DAB).

[43] François, Duc de La Rochefoucauld, 1613-1680, *Réflexions, ou Sentences et Maximes Morales*, Paris, 1665.

[44] John Hey, pastor of the Independent Church, 61 So. 7th Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1806).

Pennsylvania. Upon preaching in all the Presbyterian Churches he became known and so popular as to draw a number of persons after him, chiefly English dissenters, who built a church for him called "the tabernacle," in which he officiated for a year or two, much to the satisfaction of his hearers. He was sensible, logical, well acquainted with the Scriptures, and remarkably perspicuous in all his discourses. His principles were highly Calvinistical. I once heard him say from the pulpit, "A Christian had no fears of falling from Grace. This was impossible. He only feared losing the light of God's countenance." In the height of his popularity as a preacher and a Saint he attached himself to a rich widow belonging to his church, and after obtaining a title to, and the possession of her estate, £10,000, he seduced her and had a child by her. He had a wife and five children nearly all adults at this time. To his wife it appeared afterwards he had been unkind, and even cruel. One of his sons accompanied him in the desertion of his family. While living in a state of concubinage with the woman he had seduced, he rode with her and his child by her through the streets of Philadelphia regardless alike of public opinion and of the public eye. From remorse or some other cause he took to drink, and in about three months destroyed himself by it. He died deranged at Chambersburg in Pennsylvania, so reduced as to be obliged to sell his concubine's paternal plate in order to support himself. Alas! the sad effects of worldly enterprises in ministers of the Gospel, and of Antinomian principles in a Christian! Dr. Hay was destroyed by them.

October 15. This day died of a yellow fever in the 38th year of his age, Dr. James Stuart, a native of Virginia educated and graduated in medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, and a man of respectable talents and considerable learning. By great industry and by attention to the poor without a single family connection, he got into business of 3000 dollars a year. In his last illness he was perfectly sensible, appeared to be unwilling only, but not afraid to die. He made a will, and directed the place and manner in which he wished to be buried. I asked him if he would receive the visits of a clergyman. He said no, the very thoughts of them disgusted him. I asked him if he was a believer in the Christian religion. He said he was a believer but in God. Here our conversation ended. He was attended by a woman who was his kept mistress with whom he had lived secretly for many years. Christianity was the aggressor here in the hostility he expressed to it and its ministers.

1811, August 26. At one o'clock this morning died of a broken heart my excellent friend, Thos. Fitzsimmons Esq., in the 70th year of his age. Few such men have lived or died. From an obscure mechanic he became not only one of the most enlightened and intelligent merchants in the United States, but a correct English scholar and a man of extensive reading upon all subjects. He filled many important stations both in the general and state governments with great reputation during the Revolutionary War. His opinions upon all questions connected with the commerce of our country were always regarded with respect and even homage by his fellow citizens. In private life he was truly amiable. Hundreds in various occupations owe their establishments in business to his advice and good offices. His friendships were steady, sincere, and disinterested. He had firmness upon all occasions except one, and that was when his friends solicited favors from him. From his inability to resist the importunities, and even the sight of distress, he suffered a reverse of fortune in the evening of his life. Even in this situation his mind retained its native energy and his heart its native goodness, and hence it may be truly said in spite of all his many and immense losses, he died rich in affection, esteem, and gratitude of all classes of his fellow citizens.

August 27. This morning died my much valued friend, Jos. Clay Esq.[45] (Cashier of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank) in the 42nd year of his age. This gentleman by early and patient study laid up a large stock of knowledge in all the various branches of science, particularly in languages, mathematicks, natural philosophy, chemistry and politics, from which he became not only a useful member of Society, but a pleasing and instructive companion to a numerous and affectionate circle of friends. His profound but luminous mind shed light upon every subject upon which he spoke. In public no less than in private life there was a benignity in his temper and manners that always delighted and charmed. Beloved by all who knew him, he was particularly dear to his domestic connections. Here language fails us; sighs and tears must speak the rest.

> "Oh Death, all eloquent you only prove
> What dust we doat on when 'tis man we love."[46]

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[45] Joseph Clay, 1769-1811, was in Congress from 1803 to 1808 (*Biog. Direct. Am. Cong.*).

[46] The quotation is from Pope's "Eloisa to Abelard."

In the list of the illustrious men prominent for talents, knowledge, and public and private virtue in Pennsylvania the historian will be unjust who does not give Mr. Clay a distinguished rank among them.

November 3. This morning died Mrs. Marshall[47] of a pulmonary consumption about the 50th year of her age. She had passed through life in the exercise of two laborious employments, viz. washing and nursing. In the latter she was intelligent, faithful, and humane to a great degree. She possessed particularly uncommon judgement in nursing patients in the yellow fever. One of my patients I think once owed her life to her skill. On her death bed she prayed ardently for me, and directed the nurse who attended her to do the same thing when she lay on her death bed. I had attended her in a long illness. She made, I believe, a happy end. "Her single talent" was at all times "well employed." Her last words to me were to apply to her friends to defray the expenses of her funeral for that she was dying worth nothing.

Died about the middle of November Sarah Lawrence, the grand daughter of an excellent Presbyterian minister of that name.[48] During a long and painful illness she was patient, chearful, and resigned. When she began to lose her speech she said to her mother, "give me your hand, and if I should be unable to tell you of the brightness of my prospects beyond the grave, I will squeeze your hand. The harder I squeeze, the brighter my hopes." She expired pressing her mother's hands with a kind of convulsive force.

1812, November 28. This evening died in his chair reading the news paper Jno. Dunlap, aged between 60 and 70. From small beginnings as a printer he acquired by his business but chiefly by speculation an estate of perhaps 3 or 400,000 Dollars. So humble was his beginning in life that he slept upon a blanket under his counter, and ate pepper pot only bought in the market from his inability to purchase a bed or any other food. He was a staunch revolutionary Whig, and active as a dragoon in the most perilous stages of the war. In the parties which divided his country he was always moderate, candid, and just to both sides. To public institutions he was liberal, to the poor charitable, and to his friends kind and affectionate. In his family he was less amiable and respectable than in society. Towards the close of his life he became intemperate, so as to fall in the streets. He was early and uniformly my friend.

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[47] Aitkin's *Census Directory* for 1811 listed, under Nurses, Marshall, B., Queen Street near Bishop.

[48] There was no Philadelphia minister of this name at the time, according to the *Directories*, but Gillett mentions a Rev. David Lawrence, "of the Forks of the Delaware," later of Cape May.

December 1. This day died Dr. Magaw about the 73rd year of his age. He lived many years after the loss of his memory from the palsy, in good health, and even became fat. He was esteemed an excellent scholar, a profound divine, and a good man.

1813, January 23. Died at his son's, Henry Clymer, near Trenton, George Clymer Esq., aged 74, long my patient and friend, and from whose conversation I derived more instruction than from any citizen in Philadelphia. The following short character was published by me a few days after his death. [A clipping from a newspaper is pasted on the manuscript here.]

DEATHS

1801, January 25. This day died my dear Cousin Dr. Jno. Hall.[49] He left me his executor and guardian of his only son. His black woman, whom he had emancipated 20 years before, said he had been her "master, father, and mother." "If, said she, any man had taken him away, I would tear him to peices, but as God Almighty has done it, why I must submit."

February 6. This day died at White hill near Bordentown my dear and much beloved mother in law, Mrs. Stockton. Her latter end was happy and full of peace and joy.

February 23. This morning died at the Billet near Philadelphia Mrs. Eliz. Ferguson,[50] a woman of uncommon talents and virtues, admired, esteemed, and beloved by a numerous circle of friends and acquaintances. Her life was marked with distress from all its numerous causes, guilt excepted. An early disappointment in love, the loss of all her near Relations, bad health, an unfortunate marriage connection, poverty, and finally a slow and painful death composed the ingredients that filled up her cup of suffering. She was the intimate friend of my dear mother in law, who died a few weeks before her. I owe to her many obligations. She introduced me into her circle of friends.

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[49] John Hall, 1755-1801, was the youngest son of Elisha Hall, 1723-1757, and Ruth Hall, BR's maternal aunt. He is said to have practised medicine in Virginia, but had business interests in Philadelphia (Pleasants ms. notes).

[50] For an outline of Mrs. Ferguson's life, see p. 116, note 27. Her disappointment in love occurred at 17, when Franklin's son William, to whom she was engaged, proved inconstant during his absence in Europe. The man she finally married, Henry Hugh Ferguson, was a functionary under General Howe during the British occupation of Philadelphia, and she was the bearer of Rev. Jacob Duché's famous defeatist letter of Oct. 8, 1777 to Washington. By this and other pro-British activities she and her husband were placed in serious difficulties and were impoverished. Her character and accomplishments, however, retained for her the warm regard of personal friends (DAB).

1807, May 29. This day died Mrs. E. C--b--t[51] of a pulmonary consumption with which she had been afflicted above 7 years. During the four months she was confined to her bed previous to her death she discovered no sense of her approaching end, and constantly refused to speak about it. She objected to the visits of a pious elder of Dr. Green's Church. She changed her nurses five or six times, found fault with everything that was done for her, and complained constantly of her physician and husband. The latter attended her so faithfully that for 4 months before she died he had slept but 4 nights with his cloathes off, and seldom in a bed. A few minutes before she expired she complained of her attendants "that they would not give her anything she wanted."

Died this day John Craig,[52] a wealthy merchant of this city. He was one of the most active and virulent enemies of the existing system of medicine and of the domestic origin of the yellow fever in Philadelphia.

December 31. This evening died under my care Charles Nicholes, born in the Island of Jersey, November 1759. He left his parents when 10 years old, and spent the early part of his youth in a humble situation at sea. After he was 21 he acquired a little property, upon which he traded occasionally in Boston, Philadelphia, England, France, and Denmark, and accumulated in the course of his life about 12,000 dollars. He was singular in his person, being small and ill made, singular in his temper and disposition, being irritable and oeconomical in a high degree, singular in his conduct during his last illness. This appeared in the indifference with which he spoke of his death and funeral, also in the continuance of an old habit of swearing, and in his refusing to receive the visits of a clergyman. He was singular in the manner in which he disposed of his property. This was in charities and in legacies to particular friends. One of the former was 5000 Dollars which he left to the Pennsylvania Hospital upon a condition (privately expressed by the managers of the said hospital) that he should be buried within the enclosures of the house and have a monument erected over his grave with an inscription upon it in honor of his donation to the hospital.[53] He was singular in the manner in which he arranged his cloathes and many other matters in four or five trunks which he left behind him. In several different bags and boxes were found 600 Dollars in gold, among which were 50 new English guineas neatly wrapped in seperate pieces of paper, as if to prevent the diminution of their value by their attrition against each other. Wrapped up with equal care in seperate pieces of paper were found parcels of rusty nails, peices of wax, a cork, some punk, hasps of doors, and fifty other things of no more value. That he might appear a nondescript in every thing, he died of a singular disease, that is of a constant and distressing flatulency in his stomach, brought on, as appeared by opening his body after his death, by a scirrhous liver. He was buried January 2nd, 1808, in the garden of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

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[51] BR successfully concealed this woman's identity; there were five or six family names that fit the letters, in the Philadelphia *Directories* of the time.

[52] John Craig, shipping merchant, 12 Dock Street and 161 South Second Street (*New Trade Directory*, 1800). His daughter Jane married Nicholas Biddle, 1786-1844, the well-known lawyer, banker, and diplomat (*Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, Philadelphia, 1883).

1808, May 25. This evening died Dr. James Reynolds.[54] He was an exile from Ireland upon the account of his democratic principles. He possessed talents and knowledge, and was very popular among his Countrymen. Company, losses and disappointments drove him to drink. He died in consequence of it.

July 11. This day at 6 o'clock in the evening died at his Seat near Germantown, aged 72, Dr. Wm. Shippen. His disease was introduced by an anthrax. His last symptoms were a diarrhoea and soreness in his Oesophagus which rendered swallowing painful. He had talents, but which from disuse became weak and contemptable. He was too indolent to write, to read, and even to think, but with the stock of knowledge he acquired when young he maintained some rank in his profession, especially as a teacher of anatomy, in which he was eloquent, luminous, and pleasing. He lived chiefly in convivial company, in which he was always a welcome and agreeable member. His chief pleasure consisted in the enjoyments of the table. To these, and to young company he retained an attachment 'till within a few years of his death, when a vertigo obliged him to alter his manner of living. At this time he became thoughtful and inquisitive upon the subject of his future state. He retained his reason, but not his speech, to the last hour of his life, and gave signs to certain questions that were proposed to him, that he died a believer in the Gospel, and that all his hopes of happiness were founded on the merits of Jesus Christ. Over his faults, &c. let charity cast a veil. He was my enemy from the time of my settlement in Philadelphia in 1769 to the last year of his life. He sent for me to attend him notwithstanding, in his last illness, which I did with a sincere desire to prolong his life. Peace and joy to his soul for ever and for ever.

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[53] A tablet was duly erected (Morton).

[54] Dr. Reynolds was a member of the staff of the Philadelphia General Hospital 1804-1807 (J. W. Croskey, *History of Blockley*, Philadelphia, 1929). Nothing more is known about him. He first appeared in the Philadelphia *Directories* in 1796; he had seven different addresses from then until his death, a fact explained no doubt by his alcoholism.

1809, June 8, Thursday. Died at New York Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense," "Rights of Man," "Age of Reason," and many other political and deistical publications. I knew him well soon after his arrival in America in 1773, at which time he was unfriendly to the claims of America. He wrote his "Common Sense" at my request. I gave it its name.[55] He possessed a wonderful talent of writing to the tempers and feelings of the public. His compositions, though full of splendid and original imagery, were always adapted to the common capacities. He was intemperate and otherwise debauched in private life. His vanity appeared in everything he did or said. He once said he was at a loss to know whether he was made for the times or the times made for him. His "Age of Reason" probably perverted more persons from the Christian faith than any book that ever was written for the same purpose. Its extensive mischief was owing to the popular, perspicuous, and witty style in which it was written, and to its constant appeals to the feelings and tempers of his readers. See his character in a New York paper.

1810, April 7. This day died Mary Cobb, aged 84, an old and faithful domestic of the late Judge Shippen.[56] A year or two before her death she said to me, "Doctor, *if ever* I should die, Mr. Burd[57] will pay your bill for your attendance upon me." On her death bed she complained that she was dying "in the prime of her life!" She left money to the amount of 1500 dollars behind her.

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[55] For BR's account of his relations with Thomas Paine during the Revolution, see pp. 113-115.

[56] Edward Shippen, 1728-1806, chief justice of Pennsylvania (DAB).

[57] Edward Burd, ca.1751-1833, prothonotary of Pennsylvania, nephew of Judge Shippen, was also his son-in-law, having married, in 1778, the Judge's daughter Elizabeth (J. B. Nolan, *Neddie Burd's Reading Letters*, Reading, 1927).

May 30. Last night died Wm. Ball[58] in the 81st year of his age. By great parsimony he accumulated an estate of nearly 600,000 Dollars, all of which was real, for he had no confidence in bonds, nor in any of the monied institutions of the city. He was so avaricious that he denied himself all of the comforts, and some of the necessaries of life. He refused to receive a prescription from his physician unless it were written in English, that he might obtain its seperate ingredients at different drug stores at the cheapest rate and mix them himself. He dreaded death, and was always offended if any of his family asked him "how he was," as it implied that he did not look well, and of course reminded him of his mortality. He had no children. He left his estate to a brother's son whom he had adopted, and passed by a sister and all her children, who had never offended him.

December 11. This day died of an arthritic fever, aged 59, Peter Browne.[59] He had been my patient above 30 years, and my sincere friend and advocate under all my medical persecutions. Few men lived or died more beloved in all the relations of life. He was patriotic, benevolent, generous, and charitable, and, in the latter part of his life, piously disposed. I loved him much, and most affectionately deplored his death.

Instructing CONVERSATIONS

1804, March 10. Dined this day with the Revd. Dr. Coke at Henry Manly's. He said the members of the methodist Church were 94,000 in Britain, 25,000 in Ireland, 17,000 in the West Indies, and 104,000 in America. That no member of their Society in Britain was a legislator, magistrate, nor even a Captain of militia, but that some of them were now in arms as privates in the militia. That their ministers neither advised them nor dissuaded them from taking up arms. That he had never been but once insulted or ill-treated in all his travels and voyages on account of his principles as a methodist, and that was by a Baltimore Captain with whom he arrived in this country. That he intended to sue him, but was prevented by a sudden impression of this text on his mind: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." The man perished at sea two years afterwards. The Doctor said he had crossed the Atlantic 17 times. He had lately spent a day with Dr. Paley[60] at Carlisle, of whom he spoke highly. He knew Bishop Horn.[61] He said he was pious, but now and then lost dignity by punning in conversation. He spoke against titles, and said they created more pride than wealth. He said the Deists every where were kind to the methodists. Dr. Darwin[62] was so in a remarkable degree, having never charged any of their preachers for his medical services.

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[58] William Ball, gentleman, 41 High Street (Philadelphia *Directory*, 1811).

[59] Peter Brown was a blacksmith of eccentric character, who made a fortune, and drove about in an elegant carriage with a coat of arms of his own devising, bearing crossed hammers. He was elected a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1805 (Morton).

June 21 and 22. Was visited by the Baron Homboldt[63] [Humboldt] a Prussian nobleman of great talents and erudition. He had just returned from spending six years in South America, every part of which he had examined with the eye of a philosopher, naturalist, physician, and a man. He was communicative of what he had acquired in his travels. The results of his conversation are recorded elsewhere.

[*June*] 27. The Baron with his two fellow travellers, Mr. Bonpland[64] and Mr. Montufa[65] drank tea with me this afternoon. The Baron was as usual entertaining and instructing on all subjects.

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[60] William Paley, D.D., 1743-1805, the celebrated theologian, held various ecclesiastical posts at Carlisle, England, 1780-1805 (DNB).

[61] George Horne, 1730-1792, bishop of Norwich, author of several volumes of commentaries and sermons (DNB). He engaged in many activities and controversies that were of interest to BR.

[62] Erasmus Darwin, 1731-1802, physician, scientist, and poet, grandfather of Charles Darwin (DNB).

[63] Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) was in the U.S. on his way home from his remarkable 5 years' journey in South America, during which he laid the foundations of modern physical geography and meteorology.

[64] Aimé Jacques Alexandre Bonpland (1773-1858), botanist (NBG), had been Humboldt's companion during the whole of the South American exploration.

[65] Carlos Montúfar, youngest member of this all-star tea party, was son of the Ecuadorian patriot Juan Pio Montúfar, Marqués de Selva Alegre. He joined Humboldt and Bonpland at Quito and took part in the ascent of Chimborazo (June, 1803) when the three attained the greatest altitude ever reached up to that time. Montúfar appears to have gone on to Europe with Humboldt. Returning to South America in 1810, he joined the first abortive revolutionary movement against Spain, which broke out in Quito, and in which his father was a leader. Carlos Montúfar took the field at the head of the Ecuadorian troops, was captured and shot. Available sources are incomplete and inconsistent as to details and dates of his life. See Karl Bruhns, *Life of Alexander von Humboldt*, London, 1873; W. B. Stevenson, *Historical Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, London, 1825, III; Pedro Fermin Cevallos, *Resumen de la Historia del Ecuador*, Lima, 1870, III.

[*June*] 29. Supped with him at Jno. Mifflin's.[66] He said all the mints of Mexico and Peru were private property, and that money was coined there at a moderate expense. That 38 millions were coined in the two countries, 25 to 28 in Mexico. The mines of Peru were the richest, but small in number. That since the year 1612, 19 hundred millions of Dollars had been coined in one mint at Mexico alone. The coinage had gradually encreased since that time to its present amount. That 9½ per cent duty were paid to the king, amounting to about 4 millions. It would be a curious question, said the Baron, to determine the moral influence of the money coined since the year 1612 on the world. The encrease of inhabitants on the globe made an encrease of money necessary everywhere. The Chinese, he said, did not bury their money. He could not account for its disappearing there. He said about 3 millions of Dollars were coined in Germany, only 2 in France.

He said the whitest Indians he saw were nearly under the Equator, and the blackest above 20° from it.

He said on the Jembaracco [Chimborazo] Mountain below snow 15 feet underground were found deep beds of ice at all seasons, and on no other mountain.

EXTRACTS FROM BOOKS

Life of LINNAEUS *by* STOEVER[1]

Page 140. He was so poor as to wear the cast-off shoes of his fellow students, and to mend them with the thread of the bark of trees. When he became affluent, he acknowledged publickly his former poverty. He gave the names of useful plants to his friends, and bad and poisonous ones to his enemies. The last his only revenge.

Page 137. He never replied to attacks upon him, and plead the example and advice of Boerhaave, who said, "Never answer attacks." He concluded his last edition of his "System of Nature" in 1766 with these words: "I have ranged through the thick and shady forests of nature; I have to and fro found sharp and perplexing thorns, I have as much as possible avoided them, but learned at the same time that attention and foresight do not always conciliate perfect and entire safety. I have therefore quietly borne the derision of grinning Satyrs, and the jumps of monkeys upon my shoulders. I have entered the career, and completed the course assigned by fate."

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[66] John Francis Mifflin, 1759-1813, the youngest half-brother of Gen. Thomas Mifflin, was an attorney. He was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania and a member of the American Philosophical Society (J. H. Merrill, *Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family*, Philadelphia, 1890).

[1] Carl von Linné (latinized Linnaeus), 1707-1778, the Swedish physician-naturalist, founder of systematic botany, was one of the world's most famous scientific men in BR's day.

The excerpts in the following pages were taken from *The Life of Sir Charles Linnaeus*, London, 1794, translated by Joseph Trapp from the German of D. H. Stoever.

Page 169. Linnaeus opposed his father's inclinations. He wished him to be a clergyman, then a shoemaker. "He was at first the torment, and afterward the boast and delight of his life."

Page 192. Cured by strawberries of the gout.

Page 194. The sleep of plants discovered by accident in the evening by the disappearance of two flowers in the Lotus Ornithopodioides after night.

Page 220. His division morborum[2] included 11 Classes, 37 Orders, 325 Species; Sauvauge's 11 Classes, 44 Orders, and 314 Species.[3]

Page 236. "He led a very bustling and active life. I never saw him at leisure," says a Livonian who visited him.

Page 236. Dr. Ed. Smith[4] found 3000 letters from his correspondents in his collection of his papers &c. which he bought.

Page 240. A fit of gout disappeared upon seeing Kalm[5] return from America with a number of new plants and other objects of Natural History.

Page 242. His apoplexy induced by reading some of his letters to Dr. Haller[6] written 34 years before on the subject of his love and some trifles published in 1773.

Page 243. He had been subject in early life to toothache, catarrh, and megrim. He had the stone.

Page 244. After 50 his memory declined. At 68 he was attacked with palsy, but nature still his chief delight. He used to be carried to his museum to view his treasures, and took great delight in examining them.

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[2] Linnaeus, *Genera Morborum*, Upsala, 1763 (a classification of diseases on biological principles).

[3] François Boissier Sauvages de la Croix, 1706-1767, professor of botany at Montpellier (NBG).

[4] The library and collections of Linnaeus were bought, after the death of his son in 1783, by Sir James Edward Smith, the first president of the Linnean Society of London (DNB).

[5] Peter Kalm, 1715-1779, Swedish naturalist well known for his visit to North America 1748-1751.

[6] Albrecht von Haller, 1708-1777, of Bern, Switzerland, physician of universal genius and world-wide reputation.

His mind wasted with his body, so that his ideas, words and even letters when he spoke were incoherent (though the most connected and systematic of men in health). In subscribing his name as professor he wrote thus, pρoϕessor, mixing the Greek and Roman characters. Voltaire, Ruisseau [Rousseau] and Linnaeus died in the same year, viz. 1778. Haller December 12, 1777.

He died at 70.

Page 260. His youngest daughter was still-born. He revived her by breathing in her lungs.

His eldest daughter first discovered that the herb Tropaeolum emitted sparks of fire like an electrical machine.

Page 261. He had a quick ear for every sound but music. His eyes brown and fiery, head elevated backwards.

Page 262. He spoke only Latin and a little German. His Latin was incorrect. He often said he would rather receive three slaps from Priscian[7] than one from Nature.

Page 263. He slept from 10 to 3 in the morning in summer, and from 9 to 6 in winter.

Page 268. He was fond of company, and jocose in it. Had strong passions; his anger rose at times to fury. He kept a book called *Nemesis Divina* in which he recorded remarkable providences, such as punishments inflicted on persons, &c.

Page 269. Over the door of the hall in which he gave his lectures was the following inscription: "Innocui vivite, numen adest."

Page 290. The motto of his arms was "Famam extendere factis."

His son at 10 years of age knew most of the plants in the garden at Upsal.

Page 292. His son was hated by his wife, who was a coarse vulgar woman. She made her son sweep his own room after he was of age.

Page 399. He says the inhabitants of Orsa in Dalecarlia die at 30 of hectic fever from exhalations of mines, overstimulating body.

Page 416. The water of Gottingen is so calcarious as to encrust pots, kettles, and yet the stone is not known there.

Page 432. Haller offended at him for placing his portrait behind his door.

Gets into business by curing a cough at Stockholm. The lady he cured accidentally made her cure and his fame known to the queen by putting a lozenge into her mouth at cards.

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[7] Priscian, ca. A.D. 500, celebrated Latin grammarian.

He never had a pupil for an enemy. His principal enemies were Heister, Siegesbeck of Petersburgh, young Haller, Klein, Cranz, Pontedera, Adanson, Buffon, and Wallerius.[8]

EXTRACTS from HAYLEY'S *Life of Cowper*[9]

Vol. II, page 250.

"The moles and bats in full assembly find
On special search the keen eyed eagle blind."

"An idler is a watch that wants both hands,
As useless if it goes as when it stands."

Vol. I, page 308. Drought an interposition of Providence by way of claim to shew that rain comes from God. Man thus most feels his weakness and dependence. After rain even the most wicked in the very street cry out, "Thank God."

Vol. I, page 340. Pope forgot his Dunciad when he said "that mercy I to others shew, that mercy shew to me."[10] He did not show mercy to his contemporary poets.

He complains of the labor of writing verse. He says he once spent a whole morning and evening in translating one simile from Homer.

Vol. I, page 408. He says "ingratitude for benefits" and "injuries for them" constitute the "summum malum" of human depravity. It is exercised toward God, but he is not injured by them. Of Cranmer[11] it was said, "Do him a bad turn, and he will be your friend." Of many it may be said, "Do them a good turn, and they will be your enemies."

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[8] Lorenz Heister, 1683-1758, at various times professor of anatomy, surgery and botany at Altdorf and Helmstadt;

Johann Georg Siegesbeck, 1686-1755, director of the botanical gardens at St. Petersburg;

Jacob Theodor Klein, 1685-1759, naturalist of Danzig;

Heinrich J. N. von Cranz, 1722-1799, professor of obstetrics at Vienna, author of a botanical work. (For these four German writers see *Allg. Deutsch. Biog.*)

Giulio Pontedera, 1688-1757, professor of botany at Padua (*Biografia Universale*, Venice, 1827).

Michel Adanson, 1727-1806, French naturalist (NBG).

Johann Gottschalk Wallerius, 1709-1785, professor of chemistry at Upsala (*Biografia Universale*, Venice, 1830).

[9] The excerpts from Cowper are from William Hayley's *Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esquire*, Chichester, 1803. The remark about Pope is found on p. 336; BR's other page references are correct.

[10] Alexander Pope, 1688-1744. The quotation is from his poem *The Universal Prayer*.

[11] Thomas Cranmer, 1489-1556, martyr of the English Reformation.

EXTRACTS from PRESID. DUPATY in Italy in 1785.[12]

Page 26. "The nobles of Genoa are destitute of the most powerful motives for well governing a country. They have no country. They are in fact merchants."

Page 32. "The Turks at the gallies in Genoa have worn out the small number of ideas and recollections they brought with them from nature and their country." (See the whole work; it would bear extraction).

Some EXTRACTS from The History of 2200 Ejected Ministers in August 1662[13]

Samuel Tapper had the whole Greek Testament by memory. He used to say where devotion was dropped in the closet it seldom remains long in a family, in the heart or in the life.

Wm. Bagshaw left behind him in MS 50 volumes, some in folio and some in quarto, all written fair with his own hand.

Thos. Burwood [James Burdwood], who was much afflicted, used to say "it was better to be preserved in brine than to putrefy in honey."

O. Cromwell, to try Mr. Howe's talents as a preacher, gave him a text to preach on, and while the psalm was singing, sent him another, from which Mr. Howe preached one hour to great acceptance.

Vol. I, page 351. Revd. Geo. Trosse composed the following Epitaph for himself: "Hic jacet peccatorum maximus, sanctorum minimus, coniionatorum indignissimus, et qui huic maligno mundo valedixit." 12th of January, 1713, aged 82.

Character of the Revd. Math. Newcomen, an ejected minister. "He was the desire of thousands—his doctrine fell as rain, his zeal provoked others, his labors blessed the earth, his prayers pierced the heavens, at his presence the boldest sinners blushed, at his thunderings the hypocrite trembled, at whose force the kingdom of darkness shook, and the powers of Hell were vanquished. He bound up many a broken heart, was a spiritual father to many children, and the happy instrument of life to many dead souls." (Vol. I, p. 504.)

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[12] *Lettres sur Italie*, Paris, 1788, by Charles M. J. B. M. Dupaty, 1746-1788, who was "président a mortier," i.e. presiding officer of one of the courts of the French parliament, 1778 ff. (NBG). He was an acquaintance of Franklin. BR's citations are from the version entitled *Travels Through Italy in a Series of letters written in the Year 1785, by the Abbé Dupaty, translated by an English Gentleman*, London, 1788, Dublin, 1789.

[13] In the ms. this entry is dated 1810. The extracts are from *The Nonconformist's Memorial . . . an Account of the Ministers . . . ejected by the Act of Uniformity, . . . by the Reverend and Learned Edmund Calamy, D.D., now abridged and corrected . . .* by Samuel Palmer, 3 volumes, London, 1775. The book is rare. The Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Branch of Philadelphia Free Library) has vol. 2 only of the 1775 ed. Rush's references to this volume are correct. Names and facts which he took from the other volumes have been verified from the second edition, London, 1802. See DNB for Palmer and Calamy.

Robt. Billio. "He never waked out of sleep but he used some words of praise to God."

Jno. Hook used to say a hypocrite was hated of men for his profession, and of God because he had no more than a profession.

Mr. Newnham often closed his sermons with these words: "Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest he tear you in pieces and there be none to deliver." (Page 22.)

Mr. Baxter publickly asked God and a Baptist minister pardon for some unhandsome things he had said of the latter. (Vol. II, page 36.)

Isaac Ambrose made it a practice to retire once a year to a hut, where he spent a month in solitude and contemplation.

Edward Trench never enjoyed peace of mind 'till he had restored all that he had unjustly taken from his companions before his conversion.

He became afterwards an eminent preacher. He gave a 10th, then a 7th to the poor, had no raptures, but peace in his death.

Math. Mead preached a sermon to young people on the 1st day of every May. Was much attended and very useful. Is continued to this day in his church. He died without a sigh or groan, left both to his survivors.

Jno. Collinges, D.D. used to say it was a bad sign if a man had a great estate unless it came by parents, marriage, or friends.

Jno. Maidwell. It was a question whether he converted most souls by his preaching, or conversation.

Mr. Truman slept but 3 hours in the 24. Died at 43.

Saml. Winter used to say if you find yourself in the narrow [way] of sanctification, never mind assurance.

Fran[cis] Tallents used to say, "No more conditions should be made for Church communion than Christ has made for individual communion."

Martin Candler was acceptable to gentlemen because he could talk of heraldry and pedigrees.

Richd. Jennings preached without notes at 92.

Mr. Jno. Beaton was a witty man, and promoted seriousness by his facetiousness.

Mr. Baxter presented Saml. Wills with a volume of his works in testimony of the place where his father was buried in which Mr. Wills preached.

Jno. Bryan repeated Herbert's poems and the Greek catechism when he could not sleep, in order to drive away vain thoughts. Mr. Baxter repeated the Lord's Prayer for probably the same purpose.

Henry Oasland used in preaching to offer Christ and desire all who would not accept of him to go out of the church. He then sat down, and when none went out, he rose in an extasy. He sometimes fixed his eye on some one or more of his auditors and asked, "Will you obey this word?", which had such an effect that they would cry out, "I will, Sir, I will, Sir."

While R. Baxter[14] was preaching at St. Dunstan's a piece of the steeple fell, and the whole congregation was much terrified. He sat down. When their fright was over he rose and bad them prepare for that time when the heavens shall pass away, the elements melt with fervent heat, &c.

On his deathbed, he called himself a "dunghill worm." He ascribed all the merit of his writings to God. He was, he said, "a pen only in his hand." He said Deity was too great to be comprehended, but the thoughts of the Son of God who partook of our nature &c. did greatly familiarize and sweeten heaven to him. Bishop Wilkins said it was enough for one age to produce such a man as Baxter, and Barrow and Manton[15] commended him highly. (Vol. II, page 541.)

From a review of the history of the ejected ministers by Mr. Palmer[16] it appears

1. that many of them were afflicted with melancholy and the stone from their studious and sedentary lives.

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[14] Richard Baxter, 1615-1691, famous Presbyterian divine, author of *The Saint's Rest.*

[15] John Wilkins, 1614-1672, bishop of Chester and one of the founders of the Royal Society, was very lenient with the dissenters and made efforts to induce the ministers ejected under the Act of Uniformity to conform.

Isaac Barrow, 1630-1677, celebrated Anglican preacher and mathematician. Baxter is said to have sat through one of his sermons when most of the congregation walked out.

Thomas Manton, 1620-1677, eminent Presbyterian minister, was a friend of Baxter (DNB, for all these men).

[16] In *The Nonconformist's Memorial*; see p. 330, note 13.

2. That a considerable number of them were Royalists.

3. That a few of them were not thought pious men. One was convicted by his own preaching after his ejectment.

4. That one was a profane man.

5. That they supported themselves after their ejectment by schoolkeeping, private tutorage, practicing physic, trade, agriculture, and in one instance by a shepherd life. The last restored from that situation by praying with his employer's wife after the parish minister refused to visit 'till he had returned from a hunt. His name was Peter [Ince]. (See Vol. II, page 503.)

EXTRACTS from TACITUS
on the *Life & Genius of Tacitus*
by Murphy[17]

Pliny prays Tacitus to give his uncle's and his own name preserved in his history and that they may thereby be immortal upon the same principle that we wish our faces to be taken by the best artists. "Pliny and Tacitus were not so much names of men, as a kind of distinction for learning itself."

Claudius Tacitus, Emperor of Rome Anno D. 275, claimed his descent from the Historian. Thus while birth claims most honor while living, talents and achievements in literature claim most after death. While the former diminishes with time, the latter encreases with it.

Tacitus had his rivals and enemies. According to the old saying, "Populus neminem sine aemulo sinit."

Ships or boats had rudders at each end, also arches raised on deck, under which horses were kept.

"When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident in all transactions, whether of ancient or modern date, some strange caprice of fortune turns all human wisdom to a jest." (*Annals*, Book III, 18.)

He prefers a social and even a dissipated life in a Ruler or great man to a solitary one. Speaking of Drusus he makes the people to say "let him pass his day in the glare of spectacles, and his night in social revelry, rather than live sequestered from mankind, without a joy to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of solitude, brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender mischief." (*Annals*, Book III, 37.)

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[17] Arthur Murphy, 1729-1805, playwright and scholar, translated the works of Tacitus, in 4 volumes, London, 1793 (DNB).

A change in the manner of living took place in the reign of Vespasian. The rich became more frugal and simple in their expenses; 1st, because they were afraid of being marked out for plunder by Tiberius [Vespasian]; 2nd, because stinginess with their habits of poverty and economy had crept into power and office in Rome; 3rd, from the frugal example of Vespasian; and 4th, from the principle of rotation which exists in the nature of things, in consequence of which the manners like the seasons are subject to periodical changes. (Book III, 55.)

The widow of Cassius had a splendid funeral. The images of several illustrious families were carried along the processions—"Those of Brutus and Cassius were not displayed: but for that very reason they were present to every imagination, and with superior lustre eclipsed the splendor of the day." (*Annals*, Book III, 76.)

EXTRACTS from FOGEREE [Foderé][18]

Strong liquors makes sober—gives tension to mind as well as body. [Nothing more was entered under this heading.]

Thoughts on RELIGION[19]

All that is just in principle or conduct in a Deist is taken from his previous knowledge of the Christian Religion or the influence of Christian company. A man not educated under such circumstances would know nothing of what is good. Mr. Jefferson proposed to civilize and moralize the Indians by putting Aesop's fables into their hands.

The affairs of men are governed alternately by and contrary to their wills, to teach us both to use our Reason and to rely upon Providence in all our Undertakings.

The greatest number of infidels and atheists are to be found among those men who see most of the wisdom of God in his works, viz. Philosophers; and the most impious men are those who experience most of His goodness, viz. sailors and soldiers. See extract from Tacitus, p. 254.[20]

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[18] François-Emmanuel Foderé, *Les Lois éclairés par les Sciences Physiques, ou Traité de Médecine-Légale et d'Hygiene Publique*, 3 vols., Paris, L'An VII (1798) pp. 78, 79.

[19] The undated part of this passage was presumably written in 1809.

An infidel to be consistent should be an atheist, for the works of nature exhibit more mysteries and contradictions than the Word of God. All natural Religion, as it is falsely called, is the result of scattered rays of Revelation. It is the moonlight of Christianity. Infidels absurdly suppose that moonlight is reflected from the earth instead of the heavens.

There are the same grades of offenses in company as of murder—as chance, medley,[21] homicide, malice propense.

Original or native sin is favoured by the ideas of pregnancy and parturition being diseases. Sin and suffering began together.

We count moderate evils by days, more violent by hours, the most acute by moments. "I feel, said Mirabeau[22] when dying, in a single moment the pangs of a thousand years." What makes the review of life so short to most people is it has been spent upon the whole happily. In hell each moment will be like the duration of a thousand years.

There is no man so wicked that does not under a sudden sense of good say "Thank God" or feel gratitude to Him, nor any man so wicked that does not in sudden distress or danger cry out to God for help or deliverance. It is equally true, "No man liveth and prayeth not," as that "no man liveth and sinneth not."[23] Even devils pray, as to our Saviour not to torment them, and "to go into the hogs."[24]

St. Paul says we know religion but in part.[25] The same thing may be said of all subjects and every portion or atom of matter.

August 9, 1809. We are all necessarily Religious as we are reasoning and musical animals. It is true we are disposed to false Religions; so we are to false reasoning and false music, but this shows the depth of each of those principles in the human mind.

September 19. Mr. Wilmer, who has made it a practice to visit the sick and dying for 40 years, says he has often observed the timid and diffident professors of religion to die with the most triumph and joy. Mrs. Gouge.[26]

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[20] See p. 333 of this book for the extracts from Tacitus which BR wrote out on p. 254 of his notebook. It is not evident which extract is referred to here.

[21] "Medley" means killing in a mêlée.

[22] Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau, 1749-1791.

[23] Ecclesiastes VII, 20, paraphrased.

[24] Mark V, 11-20; Luke VIII, 26-39.

[25] I Corinthians XIII, 9, 12.

September 26. The Saviour of the world will have all who are saved by him to be conformed to him in some *one* or more of his sufferings. May not the reason why so many millions go out of the world by means of wounds in battle be, that they may be conformed to their Saviour in their death, who went out of the world covered with wounds?

December 21. Our researches upon liberty and necessity are like the researches after perpetual motion, and our attempts to understand the Book of Revelation are like mining—they bankrupt the head.

Change or novelty so natural to man that he rejects even truth after a while, and embraces error, only because it is new.

God reveals some truths to our senses and to our first perceptions, but many errors are conveyed into the mind through both, which are to be corrected only by reason. Thus the Sun appears to our eyes to revolve around the earth. Astronomy corrects this error. Endless punishment is obvious to first perception or apprehension in the Bible. Reason corrects this error, from comparing the whole tenor of Scripture together.

There have been many disputes about those words of our Saviour in which he says he was ignorant of the "time" of the Day of Judgement.[27] Attempts have been made to divide his humanity and divinity and to ascribe this ignorance to the former only. But may we not suppose that when He assumed the fallen nature of man he assumed everything that belonged to that nature, that is, not only sin, poverty, shame, pain, and death, but ignorance, and many other consequences of the fall. In this way only could he "bear all our infirmities,"[28] of which ignorance is a material one. This explanation of the above words should encrease our obligations to the Saviour. He disrobed himself not only of the glory which he had with his Father, before the world was, not only of his riches and power but of a part of his Omniscience, in order to complete the great work of man's redemption.

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[26] Mr. Wilmer was probably James Jones Wilmer, 1749-1814, Episcopal minister in Maryland and Delaware, temporarily a Swedenborgian and founder of that sect in America; chaplain of Congress 1809-1813 (DAB).

Presumably Mrs. Gouge, who remains unidentified, was a person whose death exemplified Mr. Wilmer's dictum.

[27] Matthew XXIV, 36: "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, . . . but my Father only."

[28] Matthew VIII, 17.

Children suffer for the sins of their fathers when they are put to death in the sacking of towns. To reconcile their sufferings to the justice of God it has been said they sinned in another and a prior state of existence, but there is no occasion for this defence of the justice of God, if we extend our ideas as far as we should do into the unity of the human race. It has been compared to a single body. Now, we see parts suffer for each other seperately and together in diseases, which parts did not contract those diseases. Thus the feet suffer in the gout for the intemperance of the tongue, and the whole body for the sin of one part of it in contracting the veneral disease. The whole body suffers, too, for the sin of the hands, which steal, when it is punished by whipping or hanging. To the Deity the whole human race probably appears as much a unit as a single human body appears to be a unit to the eye of man. It was once evidently so in Adam, and will be so again, we are told, in Jesus Christ. This doctrine is calculated to produce universal love, for vicarious sufferings do that necessarily which we are commanded to do voluntarily, that is "bear one another's burdens."[29]

But is it just in this manner to punish the innocent for the guilty? It would not be so in a man, but "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."[30] Good and evil are both his. He can dispose of them as he pleases. Many things would be wrong in man that are not in his Creator. He is forbidden to revenge an injury, but this injury never passes with impunity. Vengeance is the property of God, and he never fails to inflict it at the time and in the manner, and to the degree in which it shall have the most effect. This could not be done by man. It would be in his hands out of time, done in an improper manner, and in an over proportion to the injury. It would be wrong in man to kill, because he has no property in the life of a fellow creature, but all souls, or all lives are God's. He has an exclusive property in them, and may take them away when and in what manner he pleases. When he commanded Moses and Joshua to destroy the lives of the heathen nations, including women and children, he exercised his own just power over them. The sword of Moses and Joshua was no more to him than famine or pestilence. It executed his will. Without a divine command for that act, the destruction of those nations would have been murder. In like manner God does justly transfer good and evil. They are both his, and the whole race of man is one. There is no more injustice in transferring evil than in transferring the gout from one part of the body to the other. If this gout were brought on by intemperance the tongue only offended, but the feet, the hands, the head, and the whole body suffer for it, and the tongue less than any other part. The body is a unit; equally so is the whole of Adam's family. See Joshua and the story of Achan.[31] All Israel threatened for his crime.

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[29] Galatians VI, 2.

[30] I Corinthians X, 26.

The mind of man can only be moved by love. It should be by the love of God, but sin has substituted another principle of activity, viz. love of money. The first act of idolatry of the Jews showed this to be the case. They worshipped money in the form of a golden calf. Gold or its representatives is still the idol of the world. It sets the mind of man in motion, next to the love of God. The love of fame, power, &c. have but a limited operation compared with the love of gold. Should this passion be suspended for a week in the people in the country who supply a city with provisions, what distress and famine would ensue! It would nearly destroy it.

February 5, 1810. We complain that sorrows seldom come alone. This is a proof of the goodness of God. They are best borne when they are thus inflicted, than when they come in succession. The first sorrow by dissipating excitability renders the succeeding ones less sensible. Thus Job was afflicted in mercy.

The study of mathematicks the least interested study of man. All other studies are more or less selfish.

Conversation and example the best moral and religious education, without advice or precepts (Bunyan).[32]

It would seem that natural knowledge instead of leading men to God, like wealth (his gift) led them from him. Geology and Botany have both assailed Revelation, witness Brydone's remarks on the lava of Aetna.[33] See Clark's Commentary[34] on the last chapter of Genesis, also story of a large tree in Africa. The early date of the world a proof of the truth of the Mosaic account of the creation. All nations ascribe a very ancient date to their origin.

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[31] Joshua VII.

[32] The citation from Bunyan has not been located in his works.

[33] Patrick Brydone, 1736-1818, *A Tour through Italy and Malta*, London, 1773. The passage referred to (Letter VII, final paragraph) reads in part: "Recupero tells me he is exceedingly embarrassed by the discoveries . . . Moses hangs like a dead weight upon him, and blunts all his zeal for inquiry; for that really he has not the conscience to make his mountain so young as that prophet makes the world."

[34] The first volume of Adam Clarke's *Commentary on the Bible* had appeared in the year in which this entry was made (1810).

August 8, 1811. There are *intellectual* as well as *physical* miracles. Whatever occurs contrary to the usual modes of acting of the understanding is a miracle. Moses in making the history of the world and of his own nation of a recent date exhibited a miracle, for all historians delight in making the history of their nations as ancient as possible. The prophets in predicting the downfall of their religion and government exhibited miracles, for all men wish their Religions to be perpetual and universal, and patriots wish their governments or their country to last to the end of time.

August 14. Man is as necessarily a praying as he is a sociable, domestic, or religious animal. As "no man liveth and sinneth not,"[35] so no man liveth and prayeth not. Distress and terror drive even atheists to call upon God. Worldly men pray for the success of their worldly schemes. Men in deep distress even call for the prayers of their friends, witness I. P.[36] when his wife died. Prayer is an instinct of nature in man, as much so as his love of society. He cannot, he does not live without it, except in a morbid or unnatural state of his mind.

It would seem as if one of the designs of Providence in permitting the existence of so many Sects of Christians was that each Sect might be a depository of some great truth of the Gospel, and that it might by that means be better preserved. Thus to the Catholics and Moravians he has committed the Godhead of the Saviour, hence they worship and pray to him; to the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist Church the decrees of God and partial redemption, or the salvation of the first fruits, which they ignorantly suppose to include all who shall be saved. To the Lutherans and Methodists he has committed the doctrine of universal redemption, to the Quakers the Godhead and influences of the Holy Spirit, to the Unitarians, the humanity of our Saviour, or the doctrine of "God manifested in the flesh" or the "Word made flesh" which was denied, St. John tells us,[37] in the first ages of the Church, and which is admitted in a mystical way only by one Sect of Christians. Let the different Sects of Christians not only bear with each other, but love each other for this kind display of God's goodness whereby all the truths of their Religion are so protected that none of them can ever become feeble or be lost. When united they make a great whole, and that whole is the salvation of all men.

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[35] Ecclesiastes VII, 20, paraphrased.

[36] "I.P." may have been Israel Pemberton or Isaac Potts.

[37] The reference is probably to the Second Epistle of John, VII.

However strange it may appear, it is highly probable that an enlightened and inquiring Christian knows more of the whole Will of God, and of the subjects of the Gospel than any one of the historians, prophets, or Apostles, whose writings are recorded in the Old and New Testaments. Each of them saw things only in part. Specific objects, events, doctrines, and precepts were revealed to them. A modern divine by comparing and collating them all is probably in a better condition to draw general and just conclusions from them than any single writer in the Bible. Besides, the early Gospel divines were under more or less pagan and Jewish influence in all their writings. We believe without attempting to explain the Mystery of the Trinity. Why believe Three in One and not believe the derived and the independent life of our Saviour, His being raised from the grave by his Father, and being the Author of His own resurrection—the Union of liberty and necessity, and the agency of divine and human efforts in bringing about the Salvation of the soul. They all appear to be true, though opposed to each other. They are like the Trinity—mysteries intelligible only, perhaps to the Creator.

Blood forbidden to the Jews first because unwholesome, 2. because a type of the Redeemer's blood, which it was necessary to "be poured out" upon the ground to render the type complete. 3. Because the life of the animal was seated in it, and therefore it became the most suitable type of the life of the Saviour given for the sins of the world. It ceased to be sacred after the death of Christ.

Meat offerings or offerings of vegetables were accepted where persons were too poor to offer living animals. May not this typify the acceptance of the worship of pious heathen who had never heard of the necessity of the shedding of blood for the remission of sins? It is common to undervalue posthumous fame, but if acquired by doing good, it will all be added to a man's reward in a future state, so that it will bcome as acceptable as if he had enjoyed it in his life.

On the Sleep or Mortality of the Soul till the Resurrection from Geo. Hammon, a dissenting minister of Biddenden, Kent, printed 1660.[38] Inferred:

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[38] According to Mr. Donald G. Wing of Yale University Library, George Hammon

1. From the death of Christ, which was of *Soul* and body. See Isaiah LIII, 10 and 12.

2. If man's Soul lives after death he has two lives and two distinct essences in him, contrary to Scripture, which says by *one* man's sin death came into the world.

3. If a seperate state exists, Lazarus was much injured by being called from Heaven by his resurrection.

4. Immortality only dwelling in Christ. I. Tim. VI, 15, 16.

5. Every living substance destroyed by the flood; *living Souls* destroyed by Joshua. Josh. XI, 11.

6. The mortal part or body bears the name of Soul. Hence it is said by breathing on Adam's body, he became a living Soul.

7. If the soul die not, it is unfruitful, "for it is not quickened, except it die."

8. All the promises of future happiness are only after the Resurrection, or "that day."

Objections:

1. Kill soul and body. So in Matthew, but not in Luke XII, 4, 5, and Joshua x, 35, in which the soul was killed by man.

2. I am in a strait &c., Phil. I, 23, 24; no interval between death and resurrection in Consciousness. Contradicted by other parts of his writings.

3. Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee, means thy *life* be required, &c.

4. "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise" was not true. For the said thief did not die 'till next day. And *this* day, the *day* of my sufferings I say thou shalt be with me &c. Again, our Saviour was in the grave that day.

5. The story of Lazarus and the rich man a parable only. Soul can't feel fire. Intended to illustrate the Rejection of the Jews.

6. Souls slain under the altar cry, &c. Rev. VI, 10, that is the blood of the Saints that had been slain.

7. Went and preached to spirits in prison, that is by his spirits preached in the days of Noah.

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was an early Baptist (W. T. Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography*, London, 1916). He was in Cranbrook in 1669 and Biddenden in 1673, and died about 1680. A book of his entitled *Truth and Innocency Prevailing against Error and Insolency* was printed in 1660. No copy is known to be in America; there are copies in the Manchester Free Libraries and the Thomason Collection in the British Museum.

On the punishment of children for the iniquity of their Fathers:

1. One of the prophets prays to be forgiven the "iniquity of their fathers."

2. The Children of Israel are defeated for the iniquity of Achan, an individual. Joshua VII.

3. The Children of Israel are punished for the iniquity of David in numbering them.

Do not these facts suggest the unity of the Species, and the transferring of guilt to innocent persons, and thus show the uniformity of the divine government in punishing our Saviour for the iniquities of the world? Does it not show, too, that we are all members of one body, and that all are punished by the misery of one?

On Universal SALVATION

General *letter* of Scripture against it, *tenor* in its favor. The same may be said of Justification, the Atonement, and the Divinity of our Saviour.__texts in which he is called the Son of Man, and but__in which he is called the Son of God.[39]

Universality expressed by *all* the earth, *all* nations, *all* families, *all* individuals, *all* flesh. See Hartley and Pistorius.[40]

All the faculties and propensities of the mind are intended for some use. Here we know no more of them than a foetus does of its lungs, gullet, &c. before birth. All misplaced and useful passions &c. shall be employed in their supreme good. Corinthians 1, chapter 15: Death, the 2nd death only. The 1st death called *sleep*. The *last* enemy must be *Hell*, for the grave is not the last enemy.

Say not *eternal* punishment necessary to restrain Sinning. No. See men submit to 1000 privations, to war and death to avoid temporal evils, particularly slavery.

As arsenic and other poisons cure physical diseases, so may not fire and brimstone cure moral evil. Physicians and Lawyers perform humble offices to their fellow men compared with pious ministers of the Gospel. The Physicians pick the thorns from their feet which stick in them on their way, the lawyers restore to them their packs which are stolen from them on their way, but the ministers conduct them by the hand on every part of their journey to its end.

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[39] BR never made the computation of the two classes of scriptural texts, or else forgot to enter the result here.

[40] Herman Andrew Pistorius, a learned German, rector of Poseritz in the island of Rugen, wrote notes and additions to Hartley's *Observations on Man.* First published in German at Rostock and Leipzig in 1772, these notes were translated and appended to the 1791 and 1801 London editions of Hartley's book, forming the third volume.

Passages relating to the universality of mankind and of nature are found in vol. 2, p. 185 and vol. 3, p. 467 of the 1791 edition.

All are included in Christ's purchase. Even Kings and Lords. Hence He is said to be "King of kings" and "Lord of lords." They too are invited "to kiss the Son," "to be wise" &c.

As we have now a more summary way of curing diseases than formerly, so the doctrine of restitution of God's love, &c., would render the return of the sinner to God shorter and easier.

Everything shows the Unity of the human race, and that they are included in one Salvation. Children suffer for the iniquities of their fathers, subjects for the sins of their kings, and vice versa, and all mankind for the sin of Adam. Blessings are communicated to man by man to beget universal love. Thus the Jews conveyed the Gospel to the gentiles, and the elect will finally when they become kings and priests to God convey the Gospel to that part of the human race which perish in this world. Moses was prevented entering into the land of Canaan on account of the sins of the Children of Israel. Nehemiah prays to be forgiven the iniquities of his father.

The reprobation and destruction of the Jews predicted and connected with the general judgement in Matthew, a type of future punishment. The former are to be restored, so will the reprobate. The former punished for unbelief, so will the latter be. Unbelief the radical sin of all sins. No condemnation but for not believing the Gospel.

The ministers complain that it is impossible to make their hearers feel the truth of eternal punishment. Why? Nothing in the nature of man accords with it. Not so with other truths, as existence of a God, &c. *All* drank of the water of the Rock in the wilderness. *All* women and children came before God on a fast day. *All* come before Him, even the stranger, to hear his word in Deuteronomy, and to enter into Covenant with him. Chapter 29, verse 12. *All* put their hands upon the sacrifice to convey to it their sins.

May not the cause of so many millions perishing in war from wounds be to diffuse more extensively the fellowship of Christ's sufferings on the Cross? As there is darkness from excessive light, so wrath appears where only excessive love was intended.

"Father, forgive them, they know not what they do" a prayer for the *whole* world, which must be answered.

Prayer natural to man. It is as true that no man liveth and prayeth not, as that no man liveth and sinneth not.

It is no argument in favor of the truth of endless punishment and final reprobation that the preaching of those doctrines has been attended with and followed by benefits to the Souls of men. It is because they are blended with other doctrines that are true. Thus erroneous modes of practice from the stronger efforts of Nature, or from being combined with one or two medicines proper for the disease, often cure it in spite of the ignorance of a physician. The seeds of imputed Righteousness deeply sown in our natures, discovered by our esteeming hereditary honors in men who have done nothing to deserve them, but the contrary.

Why do we demand satisfaction for injuries? And why do we honour military heroism and death so much? Are they not perverted exercises of the mind intended to recognize the Atonement and to admire it? We were made for redemption. The principles of it are inherent, natural, and born with us.

The Scriptures exclude from heaven all unregenerate persons, but they do not consign them to hell. The actively and negatively wicked only are sent there. Man has a power in his Will to avoid evil and escape hell but not to renew his nature and prepare himself for heaven.

It is said the first view or first reading of the Scriptures leads to endless misery. So the first view of the Solar system leads to a belief that the sun revolves around the earth. Reason refutes both. If time is tedious in proportion to suffering, then the pains of hell may well [be] said to be eternal, though only temporal. The Marquis of Mirabeau, who died of an acute and painful disease in his bowels, said in his last hours "he endured in a moment the pangs of a thousand years."

Hostility is most intense where there is most obligation. May not the early, uniform, and intense hatred of the Devil to the Son of God be owing to his having been redeemed by him? And may not his hostility to the whole human race be owing to their all being included in the purchase of the Saviour, and of course his property? God is undivided. His mercy must be coextensive with his justice—both infinite.

Sin is not an infinite evil. Other[wise] the infinite merits of the Saviour could not cancel it—for two infinities, like two right lines, could never overtake each other. "Few that find the way that leads to life"[41] should be translated that "are finding" the way, and "that walk therein" should be translated "that are walking therein."

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[41] A paraphrase of Matthew VII, 14.

It would seem as if the doctrines of partial and Universal Salvation were guarded and preserved with equal care by divine Providence. Hence Calvin and Luther were cotemporaries, hence Westly and Whitefield were cotemporaries likewise. This was probably wisely intended to prevent either of those doctrines predominating over each other, or the extinction of them, and thus to give support to the Doctrine of Universal Salvation. Both partial and universal redemption are true. The arguments for both are unanswerable. Of course Universal Salvation must be true. It is remarkable further that 6 Protestant Sects are divided equally between *partial* and *universal* redemption, and between *necessity* and *free agency*. The Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Baptists hold the former, the Lutherans, Methodists, and Quakers the latter. Again, it is remarkable the commentators upon the Bible are divided in the same manner. Thus Henry, Pool, Hawse, and Scott are Calvinists, Whitby, Burket, Coke and Clark are Arminians.[42]

The ashes of the sacrifices were holy. Lev. VI, verse 21. So the bodies of the wicked after burning or purification will still be holy to the Lord. May not burnt offerings typify the application of the Gospel after the burning of the bodies of the wicked?

On the LATIN and GREEK Languages[43]

> "Woe is me, my mother! that thou hast borne me a man of strife! and a man of contention to the whole earth."
>
> JEREMIAH XV, 10.

Consult the Pantheon for marks of their immoral tendency. See also Deuteronomy.[44] See Hartley, vol. 2, p. 238 and 454, and Dr. Thos. Brown, Wm. Harvey and George Fox. Rome has governed by her arms, religion, and now by her language. Languages Egyptian jewels of which golden calves are made, or idols. Improperly called "languages." "Classical learning," "humanity," "scholarship" applied only to them, and "learning." Latin Schools "grammar schools" only. All wrong!

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[42] Matthew Henry, 1662-1714, *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, 1704-1715.

Matthew Poole, 1624-1679, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, 1683-1685. The names transcribed "Pool" and "Birket" are illegibly written in the ms. and these two identifications are tentative.

Thomas Haweis, 1734-1820, *The Evangelical Expositor, a Comment on the Bible*, 1765.

Thomas Scott, 1747-1821, *The Holy Bible, with . . . Notes*, etc., 1788-1792, often reprinted.

Daniel Whitby, 1638-1726, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, 1688-1703.

William Burkitt, 1650-1703, *Expository Notes on the New Testament*, 1724.

Thomas Coke, 1747-1814, *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, 1803-1807.

Adam Clarke, ca.1762-1832, *Commentary on the Bible*, 1810-1825.

[43] The entry of these notes about 1809 suggests that BR was thinking of writing another essay or a lecture against the general and early teaching of Greek and Latin,

Habit continues after what occasioned it ceases. Latin and Greek useful to monks when all knowledge shut up in them. Not so now. As well might we continue the spade since the invention of the plough, or skins and fig leaves since the discovery of silk, cotton, and woolen cloathing.

See Deuteronomy xii, 1 to 5, also verses 29, 30 and 31. See Psalms xvi, 4, in which David says he won't mention names &c. Also see Joshua xxiii, in which the names of heathen gods not to be mentioned. Monuments of idolatry to be destroyed. Why not languages? But if Latin and Greek useful to explore old works, why not satisfied with what has been done. Shall we visit Constantinople, Smyrna, &c.? Are we not satisfied with travels through this Country? See St. Peire[45] on classical education.

Different reasons for studying: 1. to read old authors. 2. to acquire taste. 3. to strengthen memory. Methodist ministers like sea captains who sail by tables. They do well enough. Old divines study for the one, as Philosophers do for the other. And why not? All right.

Mr. Nathl. Ball,[46] an eminent ejected minister, said it cost him more (pain) to bring down his sermons to the level of common capacities than to preach in Latin.

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on which he had written vigorously many years before ("An Enquiry into the Utility of the Latin and Greek Languages as a Branch of Liberal Education with hints of a Plan of Liberal Instruction without them, Accommodated to the Present State of Social Manners and Government in the United States," *American Museum*, 1789, v, 525-535. "Observations upon the Study of the Latin and Greek Languages" in *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, Philadelphia, 1798).

[44] BR was probably referring to the exhortation to destroy the monuments of idolatry, Deuteronomy xii, as indicated two paragraphs below. The two passages cited from David Hartley, *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations*, London edition of 1791, refer to lewdness in the Greek and Roman literature ("p. 454" should read 444). It would be interesting to know what passages from Sir Thomas Browne, William Harvey and George Fox BR meant to cite.

[45] St. Pierre, the author of *Paul and Virginia*, thought like BR that young children should not be burdened with learning Latin and Greek, and that the teaching of a language should not begin with grammar but with oral practice. His views may be conveniently found in *Works of Jacques Bernardin Henri de Saint Pierre*, trans. by Frederick Shoberl, London, 1807, ii, 92-101 and iv, 64-69.

[46] Nathaniel Ball was one of the ministers mentioned in *The Nonconformist's Memorial*; see p. 330, note 13.

Deism derived from partiality to Greek and Roman writers—morality enough supposed to be found in them.

Dead languages less necessary now than formerly. All that is valuable in them diffused through other and modern books.

Story of Dr. Ewing and [Euhin?][47] "He is no scholar, though an eloquent preacher." Just so. Jno. Pringle. "He knows nothing of a ship."

As medicine and law cannot be learned by all, but are necessary to all, why not the dead languages confined like medicine and law to certain persons only?

Teaching dead languages irritating to tempers of Schoolmasters. No ears pulled, no swearing, no calling beasts for ignorance or dulness of apprehension in teaching other things.

Fortunate, Sunday, nature, Fortune, all borrowed by Christians from pagan languages, and are very improper.

Heads of a LECTURE for 1809 on the Best Means of Acquiring Knowledge[48]

They are by observing, reading, thinking, recording, conversing, and composing.

1. *Observing*. To be "all eye, all ear, all grasp" should extend to all subjects and companies.

2. *Reading*. While observation is limited, books convey knowledge from thousands. Voltaire's speech upon entering a library.[49] Books like animals and vegetables produce each other. All made up of elements of decayed substances. Remarks on Reading. Differs from study as exercise does from labor. Selections to be made of books. Bad ones plebeians in a library.

3. "And this I can well say, because my natural disposition inclines me to spend that time in *thinking* which others employ in *reading*." Sydenham, vol. ii, p. 178.[50]

T. Payne *thought* only. Thinking leads to principles. Facts—"fac totum" men. Like stones in a field, useless 'till collected and arranged in a building.

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[47] The word in brackets is not decipherable with certainty. The point is probably that someone, who should have known better, misspelled the name Ewing. The reference to Sir John Pringle is even more obscure.

[48] BR delivered this lecture at the University of Pennsylvania November 6, 1809. It was printed as No. XV of his *Sixteen Introductory Lectures*.

[49] Thus cited in the printed Lecture: "When I mix with the world, I am subject to every man's humor; but when I enter a library, every man's humor becomes subject to me."

[50] The quotation (not quite accurate) is from the preface to Sydenham's "On Gout and Dropsy" in the 2-volume edition of his *Works* in English, London, 1788.

4. *Recording*. "Studium sine calamo somnium." Voltaire's and Edward's practice[51]—a pencil and paper as essential parts of the furniture of a pocket as a pen-knife. Saves the trouble of many books. Muhlenberg's advice to his son.[52] Pope's practice.

5. *Conversation* connects ideas, multiplies apprehension, elicits ideas by collision. Recommended it better than medical societies. Dr. Watt's advice. Mr. Fox's speech of Mr. Burke. It is education, it is influence, it is like readily prepared fibrin of blood, whereas reading is chyle only to the mind. Dr. Haller, &c.[53]

6. *Composing* amends ideas still more. Dr. Priestley's practice.[54] The hand of the liberal thus maketh rich. Knowledge by inspiration.

LECTURE on the Medical Jurisprudence of the Mind[55]

1. Difference between Phrenitis, mania, and delirium as a symptom of general fever. Many families subject to the last. See Darwin on the influence of company and conversations in chasing away delirium.[56] Dr. Cullen's advise thus to prevent it.

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[51] In the printed Lecture: "President Edwards [presumably Jonathan Edwards the elder, 1703-1758, president of Princeton College 1757-1758] often alighted from his horse in travelling, and retired from the road on purpose to collect and preserve the overflowings of his genius into his memorandum book. Voltaire noted down, in large companies, and at a full table, every thing he heard that he wished to remember. Mr. Pope often rang a bell at midnight while a guest at Lord Oxford's, in order to call up a servant to fetch him with a candle that he might record a thought suggested perhaps by wakefulness or a dream."

[52] Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's advice to his son, not to acquire a private library, is cited above, p. 184.

[53] In the printed Lecture: "Dr. Watts very properly advises young men, when they hear or read anything they wish to remember, always to repeat it in the next company they go into when it can be done with propriety and good manners."

"Mr. Fox declared in the British House of Commons, that he had learned more from Mr. Burke's conversation than from all the books he had ever read in his life."

No citation from Dr. Haller was used in the Lecture.

[54] BR did not use the item about Priestley in Lecture XV of *Sixteen Introductory Lectures*, as printed, but in Lecture IV he wrote "Dr. Priestley has made it a constant practice to write upon every subject which he wished to understand perfectly."

[55] This admirable discourse, the last of the *Sixteen Introductory Lectures*, was delivered November 5, 1810. It was apparently the first general review of the subject in English. The notes, printed here from pp. 323, 324 of the ms., are full of confusing interlineations and corrections. The order of some of the paragraphs is conjectural.

[56] BR was possibly thinking of a sentence or two in Erasmus Darwin's *Zöonomia*, London, 1776, vol. II, p. 303, Class II, I. 7. William Cullen's advice on this subject is found in paragraph 1528 of his *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*. Neither of these references was cited in the printed Lecture.

2. Mania no intervals, remissions only except from strong drink. Here it often occurs like apoplexy, and often completely cured.

Mania to be distinguished from its causes. Least so from drink, a sudden emotion, and a corporal cause. From its grades—mania partialis and Hypo [chondriasis] should not preclude when on subjects not related to the insane one. The mind not sound long after apparently convalescent, as in Mrs. Delaplaine. Two persons who destroyed themselves the day they left our hospital, and the man in Donyville.[57] See others from law reports.

Delirium comes and goes off suddenly and completely. Not so madness. The division therefore correct pointed out by Mr. Gibson.[58]

3. Recoveries from mania just before death—as in Jno. Derberow, the case related by Dr. Percival, and Don Quixote.[59]

4. The state of pulse indicates recent mania, as in the two Western Insurgents.[60]

5. See Percival on this subject.

6. Defect of memory don't disqualify—an *old* man should not make wills. A man may forget a part of his property, and yet mind and affections or will be sound. See Dr. Smith's letter.[61] A change of disposition of property may occur on death bed 1. from its encrease, 2. a

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[57] Mrs. Delaplaine and "the man in Donyville" have not been identified.

[58] No writer on delirium, of this name, has been found. Gibson was not cited in the printed Lecture.

[59] John Derberow (Deborah, Durburrow; not mentioned by name in the printed Lecture) was listed as a sailmaker in the Philadelphia *Directories* of 1785 to 1794; Mary D. was listed as widow in 1795 and 1796. He is mentioned by name in BR's *Diseases of the Mind*, 1812, pp. 123, 231, where his case is discussed and he is said to have been formerly a patient at the Pennsylvania Hospital.

The printed Lecture has "Dr. Percival relates an instance of a woman who lived from infancy . . . in a state of fatuity, who died of a pulmonary consumption, in which she discovered a degree of intellectual vigor that astonished her family and friends." This is from Thomas Percival's *Essays, Medical, Philosophical and Experimental*, London, 1767, VIII, "Medical Cautions relative to Pulmonary Disorders."

Cervantes' depiction of mental peace after storm is in Part 2 of *Don Quixote*, Chapter 74.

[60] The two insurgents were Philip Weigel and John Mitchell. Among the people arrested for participation in the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania in 1794, these two alone were convicted and condemned to death. A brief but documented account of their trial at Philadelphia is given in *Whiskey Rebels*, by Leland D. Baldwin, Pittsburgh, 1939. In the printed Lecture, BR says that a plea of insanity was raised on behalf of Weigel, and that Drs. Shippen, Griffitts, and Rush were appointed by President Washington to examine the prisoners. The three doctors, apparently on BR's initiative, decided that Weigel was indeed insane because his pulse was 20 beats per minute faster than normal. He was reprieved, and when the excitement blew over Washington pardoned both men.

[61] Dr. Smith's letter was not cited in the printed Lecture, and no such letter has been found in the Rush mss.

disposition to forgive injuries at that awful time, or to atone for them. A man in Strawberry Alley left £500 to a tenant whom he ruined. No derangement here. This principle is deep seated. A penitent and dying convict asked a man's pardon 20 years after he had injured him in a public newspaper.

7. Bring in insanity in will, as well as memory and understanding. Illustrate it by cases. Is moved by irritants instead of motive. One a morbid, the other a natural stimulus.

Patients sensible, though apparently stupid when roused. Pringle, p. 302.[62]

Sanity—aptitude to judge of things like other men, and regular habits &c. Insanity a departure from this.

Absence of reason annuls a man's social compact, disfranchises him, takes away his liberty, prevents making bargains &c. &c., takes away testimony, morality, &c.

Reason imperfect upon just waking, in the intervals of drinking—drunk when sober, dead while she lives.

Physicians best judges of sanity.

Madness, periodical, leaves the mind less perfect. The shorter the intervals the more so. Fits prevented by low diet. Face indicates a great deal, even liberty and slavery.

Correct speech and incorrect actions and vice versa.

Demoniac madness.

Memory, taste, &c. exist without reason.

Great timidity impairs evidence. Grades of mania. Hale says a man is mad who has only reason of boy of 14.[63] Paroxysm is madness, but disordered mind follows paroxysm as swell follows a storm at sea, the shorter the worse. Suicide is madness. What is done soon before not valid, or soon after. "Furiosi nulla est voluntas."[64] Except in a few cases Romans considered suicide as madness. Drunkenness when habitual no excuse, when accidental or from drinking from mistake strong liquors is madness. Chagrin, shame, fear, terror, anger unfit for legal acts, are transient madness.

Mr. Palmer deranged several weeks as to morals—he thought he had done a dishonorable act, was avoided he thought by his friends, but was a pious man. He made a will a few days before his death

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[62] Sir John Pringle, *Diseases of the Army*, 7th edition, London 1775; p. 226 of BR's edition of 1812.

[63] Perhaps the reference is to the legal writings of Sir Matthew Hale, 1609-1676; but the passage has not been located.

[64] This looks like a legal aphorism. Its source has not been ascertained.

(probably from suicide) in which he left his estate to brothers' and sisters' children. It was correct, written with his own hand, and certainly natural. He died in April 1809.[65]

One of the Bourbons hypochondriacal but able in business at the same time. (Lect. on madness, no. 2, 39.)[66]

Delirium with maniacal symptoms described by Pringle. Patients ran about. Differs from mania in being periodic, and going off with Sweats. (p. 175.)[67] See Dr. Smith's acct. of young Haines in lecture.[68]

LECTURE on the Advantages of Knowledge of the Diseases of Domestic Animals[69]

Medicine related to everything. Reasoning necessary in it. This derives knowledge from anatomy. Knowledge of diseases useful 1. because diseases appear in most simple state from simplicity of diet, and so little mind. 2. Because experiments of evidence made more safely on them than human species. 3. Because throw light on our diseases, as Rheum, teeth, glanders, strangles, &c. 4. Because useful to us—specify horse in carriage, under saddle, plough, war; cow, milk, cream, butter, cheese, flesh, hides, horns, vaccine matter; sheep, wool, flesh; hogs, flesh; all afford manure. Diseases should be studied for their *own* sakes on account of humanity and gratitude. For our sakes—they affect their flesh, milk, &c.—putrid fevers from them. We are related to them. Our fellow creatures feel, and are subject like us to pain and death, created and protected by the same Power. Perhaps live forever to exhibit gratitude to God or to be compensated in another state for sufferings here. See Dr. Hildross's work.[70] 5. Because their diseases influence their flesh, milk, &c. 6. Because their diseases, like ours, chronic, epidemics, locked jaw, frenzy, cutaneous diseases—but more simple. 7. Because knowledge of them helps to cure ours, are more simple, &c. 8. Experiments more easily made on them. Reasoned theory and practice. Obligations to each of them—see above.

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[65] John Palmer was probably the merchant of that name at 20 Sansom Street (Philadelphia *Directory* of 1808). His will, drawn April 6, 1809, was entirely in his own handwriting, according to sworn witnesses. The official copy is in Book 2, p. 477, at the office of the Registrar of Wills, Philadelphia. It confirms BR's statement that it gives no evidence of derangement.

[66] The story about one of the Bourbons has not been located in BR's published and surviving manuscript lectures on mental diseases.

[67] *Diseases of the Army*, Part III, chapter IV, pp. 157-158 of BR's edition of 1812.

[68] In the printed Lecture BR says, referring to this patient, "My advice was solicited in a letter from a gentleman of great respectability for talents and knowledge in a neighboring State in the summer of the year 1808." The letter is not to be found, however, in the Rush mss.

[69] The Lecture on the Duty and Advantages of Studying the Diseases of Domestic Animals, and the Remedies Proper to Remove Them, was delivered November 2, 1807, at the request of the president of the Agricultural Institution, and was printed in *Memoirs of the Phila. Soc. for Promoting Agriculture*, 1808, I, and also as Lecture XIII of *Sixteen Introductory Lectures.*

See medical commonplace book, p. 114.[71] See also Dr. Hartley, p. 415, Vol. I, also Vol. II, in which he mentions their being sacrifices, etc. as a proof of being interested in Redemption by Christ. Bring in further the divine protection of them as at Nineveh; their punishments, stoned for coming too near Mount Sinai. See Hartley, p. 436, Vol. II.

A horse discovers his temper by his eye, can't conceal it. If approached as if to cover it, he will shut it if good-tempered, if not, he will look vicious and resist. A horse in pain will throw his ear back on the pained part. A tail moving regularly from side to side favourable, and vice versa. The best way to view a horse, whether lame, is coming to you. Martingale compresses throat—horse throws his head up for breath. If you suspect lameness in forefoot, turn horse suddenly towards you on the lame side, and he will drop on it (Carver).[72]

On LUNAR Influence[73]

None on tides—nor weather. On vegetables and diseases from light and darkness. The influence of light discovd. in intermittent fever by Dr. Deal. In Huxham's facts, in Lining's account of yellow fever.[74]

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[70] John Hildrop, D.D., ?-1756, an Anglican clergyman, wrote "Free Thoughts upon the Brute Creation" (in his *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1754) in which he favored the idea that animals have souls and are rewarded and punished in a future state (DNB).

[71] No medical commonplace book containing an entry on this subject has been located among BR's mss.

The references to Hartley are to the 1791 London edition of *Observations on Man.* The passage in Vol. 1, p. 415 deals with the intellectual faculties of brutes.

[72] A James Carver published a book called *Veterinary Science* at Philadelphia, 1817, and a William Carver published *The Practical Horse Farrier*, Norristown, Pa., 1818. Neither of them seems to have printed anything on veterinary medicine during BR's lifetime. The diagnostic tricks here cited were probably picked up in conversation with one of the Carvers.

[73] BR did not publish, so far as known, any article on this subject. On March 2, 1808 BR wrote to Timothy Pickering "I am at present engaged in an inquiry which I hope will terminate in an exclusion of lunar influence from the human body and perhaps from other parts of our globe" (letter in Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, cited by Mr. L. H. Butterfield, personal communication).

[74] The reference to Dr. Deal is a puzzle. No writer on fever with any such name can be discovered. William Huxham, 1694-1768, a celebrated English physician, kept a diary of weather conditions and diseases at Plymouth, published as *Observations on the Air and Epidemical Diseases*, 1st English edition 1758. John Lining,

We acquire in diseases a new sense to heat and cold, as Hydrophobia, to moisture, dryness, course of winds, and a stronger sense to odor, sounds, taste, and light. Why not moon light or absence of it. Mrs. Glentworth could sleep only in candlelight. Patients worse at night from darkness. Light hereafter should be regulated like heat &c. by force or weakness of disease.

1808, April 12. Reject causa non causa as in cherries and dysentery, West India ships and yellow fever, white ox and death from parturition in Scotland.

On the Means of PREVENTING DISEASES by obviating their Premonitory Symptoms[75]

1. All diseases curable, time being fixed on properly for that purpose. Moral and political evil thus obviated. The friends of liberty by opposing first encroachment of liberty; of government by punishing first opposition to it.

Intimate connection of forming Symptoms with the disease. Light irritants induce great effects, as light tickling cough laughter, light sound. Epilepsy as horse's hoof, see Cullen on epilepsy.[76] Light inflamn. vomiting, &c. (Laudanum gtt. V) before asthma by Mrs. Betton.[77] Laudanum gtt. X before colic, cancer, yellow fever, &c.

Mr. Boyle on Colors says a physician could tell when persons had the plague, by false vision for one day. (Wanley, p. 113.)[78]

I had a soreness in one tooth just before an attack of fever of the tertian type. June 1779. Yellow fever by wine, hot taste. How eyes, hearing? &c.

Include signs of returning paroxysms as well as first attack.

Illustrate by signs of the weather &c.

1708-1760, of Charleston, S.C., wrote "A Description of the American Yellow Fever which prevailed at Charleston, in South Carolina, in the Year 1748," in *Edinburgh Medical Essays*, 1756, II, 370-395; republished at Philadelphia, in Colin Chisholm's *Essay on Malignant Pestilential Fever*, 1799.

[75] BR did not publish, nor deliver, so far as can be ascertained, a lecture based on this synopsis.

[76] There is nothing in Cullen on epilepsy (*First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, Book III, chapter II) to explain this cryptic memorandum.

[77] Samuel Betton and Samuel B. Jr. were physicians at 276 High Street (Philadelphia *Directories*, 1808, 1809).

[78] Robert Boyle, "Experiments and Observations upon Colours," in his *Philosophical Works*, London, 1725, II, 3. Nathaniel Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World, or a General History of Man*, first published at London, 1678. BR's citation is from the augmented London edition of 1788, p. 112 (Bk. II, chap. 13, par. 15).

Wrong to wait till diseases evolve what are called characteristic symptoms. All diseases a unit, all yield at first to same treatment. Story of Physician in Virginia, would not say what disease was for 3 days. Nosology leads to this error.

See Diemerbrock, plague prevented by smoking tobacco.[79]

A chill is like locking the door and turning the key. How avoided—Signs of gout—what?

Vulgar Errors in MEDICINE

1. Venesection creates a necessity for it.
2. Physic in the spring.
3. Intermittents healthy.
4. Gout friendly in the feet. True, better there than elsewhere, but best not at all.
5. Let tumors alone.
6. Yellow fever contagious.
7. Bleeding in the foot, not during menstruation.
8. Cold water hurtful in fever, improper in menstruation.
9. Milk feverish.
10. Fish ditto.
11. Clean linen weakens.
12. Nourishment necessary in fevers.
13. Plurality of diseases.
14. Plurality of remedies on the same cause, viz. venesection in pleurisy, and not in bilious fever.
15. Not bleed after 3rd day in pleurisy or yellow fever.
16. Abstinence in toto.

Plan for an Asylum for DRUNKARDS to be called the SOBER HOUSE. 1810

When we consider the distress brought upon individuals' families, and society by habits of drinking and intoxication, and that there the ordinary attempts to prevent them have proved insufficient for that purpose, it has occurred to several citizens that a house appropriated exclusively for persons addicted to the excessive use of ardent and fermented liquors, in which they might be reformed or accommodated where they could no longer injure themselves nor others, would be attended with the most beneficial consequences. Hitherto the hospital and the jail have been their only receptacles, but as proofs of insanity or crimes from strong drink are required for their admission into them, and as incalculable evils are often produced by drunkenness short of insanity and crimes, the proposed asylum would be the means of restraining and preventing them. For the purpose of carrying this plan into execution, let a petition be presented to the legislature, praying that the County Court should have power to inquire into the proofs of drunkenness, neglect of business or property, and ill treatment of members of their family, and confine them &c.

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[79] Isbrand van Diemerbroeck, 1609-1674, professor of medicine at Utrecht, *Tractatus de Peste*, Arnheim, 1646.

2. That the place in which they are confined should be divided into seperate apartments, and that such diet, drink, and employments and means of moral and religious instruction should be contrived for them as are calculated to promote their reformation and comfort.

3. That the board should be accommodated to the circumstances of persons admitted, and paupers maintained without expense, for which persons an additional tax should be laid upon each County.

4. That the committee appointed by the Court should be judges of the propriety and time of discharging persons.

Medical BIOGRAPHY[80]

Pupils' ingratitude. Others never offended. All hostile. Their connections and patients share in their prejudices and resentments. Patients' ingratitude. Two for whose recovering I suffered most in feeling and interest—P. and L. Story of B. Duffield[81] and Currie and Barton. Persons known in England &c. Dr. Johnson, Dr. Franklin, Geo. Whitefield, Dr. Fothergill, Sir John Pringle, B. West, Sawbridge, Mrs. McCauley, her coterie, her remark on her want of grammar in her stile, marked it as her own. What preachers heard.

Introductory LECTURES on Duties of PHYSICIANS to each other[82]

1. Should be united by dignity of profession, are angels of health. 2. by common labor and suffering. 3. by obligations to encrease

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[80] The items of this outline were almost all mentioned in *Travels Through Life*, but this entry was certainly written as late as 1810. Perhaps BR was thinking of writing his medical autobiography for publication.

[81] Benjamin Duffield, 1753-1799, began his career as an apprentice of John Redman. He served in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. He was one of the original incorporators of the Philadelphia College of Physicians and was a member of the American Philosophical Society. Duffield was a notably sociable and hospitable man.

knowledge. They owe to each other: 1. Respect and civility. Story at H. Drinker's. 2. Tenderness of each other's name. 3. Charges. 4. Should assist in collecting fees. 5. Conceal each other's omissions, acts of forgetfulness, ignorance and errors. 6. The old should instruct the young, and 7. the young honour the old. In consultations first called, though younger, precede and remain last in the room, deliver the prescription, answer all questions, never visit alone. Punctuality to be observed. See valedictory address in Dr. Coxe's *Museum.*[83] Should communicate new remedies in difficult cases, though not called in consultation. Uniformity in charges. Should not take each other's pupils, should not charge each other unless they retire from business or pursue a new one. Brother Professors should not charge each other's sons. Kindness to decayed members of the profession and their children.

Problem in morals: Why do not physicians agree? Clergy, lawyers, officers call brothers, owe obligations constantly to each other. All merchant occupations also. Even Devils firm concord hold with each other.[84] Not want of religion. No, all alike—but of social meetings wear off rust. Beasts of prey are so from not being gregarious. Like vice—the men we hate first pity—endure and then embrace.

On what is obligation
founded? Mutual
wants and necessities.

Who is my brother?
Now, the whole faculty harmony.
visiting each other's patients
and families, no charge, and not
before being sent for.

After devils &c. men become savages by living alone. Arguments for harmony. 1. pleasure, 2. profit, 3. respect from public and patients. We are gladiators—smeared with blood, or trophies of

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There is no clue to the story BR mentions (John Neill, "Benjamin Duffield," *Trans. Coll. Phys. Phila.*, n.s. II, 1863-1874, 449-450).

[82] BR delivered a very interesting introductory lecture on this subject to his class in medicine, November 2, 1812. The draft is among the Rush mss. It was never printed.

[83] "A Charge delivered in the University of Pennsylvania, to the Graduates in Medicine, April 19th, 1810, by Benjamin Rush, M.D.," *Phila. Med. Museum*, 1811, n.s. I, 115. After a stirring introduction on the high traditions of the profession, BR advised the graduates to be punctual, write a good hand, and keep accurate business records.

[84] "Oh, shame to men! devil with devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men only disagree
Of creatures rational."
Milton, *Paradise Lost.*

mangled characters odious.[85] Let us not be wooden pipes only, but living channels. Our houses not dens or shops, but the abodes of correspondence, Sympathy.

A DREAM

In hearing the Revd. Dr. ------- preach some time ago, he enforced in strong terms the advantages of acquiring habits of virtue and the danger of contracting habits of vice, and urged, as a reason for endeavouring to acquire the one and to strive against the other, that he believed that persons would rise from their graves at the general Resurrection with the same habits of virtue and vice which they had had laid down in them. I was so much affected with this thought that I could not dismiss it during the whole day afterwards. It followed me to my bed, and after I fell asleep produced the following dream.

I imagined I was walking in a grave yard in this city when suddenly I heard a noise in the air which I supposed to be the last trumpet. Soon afterwards I saw the dead arise from their graves clad in shrouds in which they had been interred. Contrary to my expectations, I saw neither confusion nor distress among them. I recognized many of my old friends and acquaintances. Upon my accosting one of them, he asked me the way to Peggs [Peg] Mullen's (A noted beefstake tavern in Water Street).[86] I told him she had been dead many years and that a large store had been built upon the spot on which her tavern stood. A second asked me to conduct him to K. H-----l (A woman of the town). I told him I had never heard of such a woman, and that I believed no such person lived in Philadelphia. A third person asked me what is the price of the stock of the Bank of the United States, and a fourth "what news," a fifth, "What prizes are in the wheel?" I saw half a dozen well-dressed men walk hastily to the gate on the Church yard, and asked one of them where they were going. He said to the Coffee house. I saw another group walking towards another gate of the Church yard. "Make haste," said one of them, "or we shall lose our chairman." I found by this speech they were going to a town meeting. A little behind them I saw a company of ladies and gentlemen. I found where they were going by hearing the names of Cook and Cooper and Fennell mentioned half a dozen times.[87] By the side of a grave from which he had just risen I saw a little old man talking to himself. Upon coming up behind him I heard him say, "6 per cent—no, no—it won't do—no man shall touch my checks for less than 2 and ½ per month." Near him I saw a young man who had been my Schoolmate. His face was bloated and full of pimples, and his hand trembled as he lifted it up to take hold of mine. Another bowl, Tom, my dear fellow. And then, while I was about entering into conversation with him I heard a person speaking in a loud tone behind me. Upon looking round I perceived it was my old neighbour, Mr. J. W. "Damn you, Tom, is that you? Damn your blood, Sir, how are you? A damn fine day, Tom. Say, Tom, a'nt it, damn me if it a'nt." Disgusted with this profane salutation, to which I made no reply, I passed to another part of the grave yard when I met with two gentlemen who had once been friends, but differed about some trifle, and had not spoken to each other for 20 years before their deaths. I was anxious to see the result of their meeting. One of them approached and offered the other his hand. It was rejected with a look of malignity such as I had never before seen in a human creature. Here I heard a woman vociferating to a man whom I supposed to be her husband in an angry and petulant tone, "But I want more, I want—" to which he meekly bowed and made no reply. At a little distance I saw the reverse of this scene. It was a man kicking his wife and dragging her by the hair of her head along the ground, and then leaving her by saying, "There, take that, you bitch." Near to these miserable couples I heard a female voice, and turning round I heard a young lady say to a little girl that stood near her, "Do you know where Shallus keeps his circulating library?"[88] "Yes, Madam," said the little girl. "Then go and bring me all Miss Burney's novels,[89] and stop at any stationer's you please and bring along with you a pack of cards." Near a fence I saw five women sitting under the shade of a tree. I walked slowly by them and overheard the following speeches: "She is as ugly as sin." "I know what I know. If some people had their due, they would not dare to be seen in her company." A few yards from this female group I saw several men standing together. Their conversation was about authors. From a number of short speeches uttered by each of them I collected the following. "He is dulness itself." "He is a great plagiarist." "There is no salt in his compositions." "The fellow can't reason." "His works are all desert, there is no food for the mind in any of them." "Hic, hic," said I, "What noise do I hear?" I ran towards the place from whence it came, and heard a young man venting his rage against a person apparently of his own age and figure. "What, what is the matter?" said I. "Why, that fellow," said the youth, "had the impudence to speak to me." "And why not?" said I, "You are all upon an equal footing here." "An equal footing here! No, no, I deny it. Why that fellow's father was a porter." "And pray, Sir, what your father?" said I. "Why he was a merchant." "And what was your grandfather?" "I don't know," said he. "But I will tell you," said the young man whom he had treated with so much contempt. "He and my grandfather came over in the same ship from Ireland, and they were both sold for their passages. After they had served their times out your grandfather earned an honest livelihood by wheeling ashes, and after a while opened a shop which his son after his death converted into a store, and thus acquired the title of a merchant." "Hah! What shrill noise is that?" Upon turning I saw a woman lifting up her shroud and with a look of contempt I heard her say, "I say it is finer than your shroud, for it cost 5/ a yard, and yours ain't worth 2/ more it ain't." Tired with the scenes and dialogues I had witnessed, I directed my steps towards the gate of the grave yard. On my way I overtook a young man walking with a quick step before me. "Stop, my friend," said I, "What is your hurry?" "I am looking," said he, "to know what has become of my father and mother. They were old and poor when I died, and subsisted only by my labor." "Heaven reward your filial piety!" said I. No sooner had I uttered these words than a young woman passed by me with her eyes red, watery as if she had been crying. "What is the matter?" said I, "miss?" "Oh!" said she, "Matter enough. I am going in search of a poor widow and five children whom I had supported with the aid of a few friends for several years. She stood by my bedside when I breathed my last, with her eyes lifted up to Heaven, and cried out, 'Ah! my only friend will soon be gone.' I attempted to comfort her, but my speech failed me. I could only weep." I saw a man sitting by the side of the grave yard near the gate with a little boy reading to him. I approached them, and upon looking over the boy's shoulder, I perceived the book he was reading was the Bible. After leaving the grave yard I was undertaken by a plain-looking little man whom I had seen in the church yard. I asked him if I might accompany him. He said yes. We walked together till we came to the Pennsylvania Hospital. We entered the door together. A group of the patients of that house immediately surrounded him. One called him "father" and pointed to the coat on his back he had given him, another his brother and thanked him for the fruit he had sent him. One kissed his hand and thanked him for a warm gown he had conveyed to him from his wife. A fourth stroked his back, and said, "Ah! The pot of sweetmeats you brought me saved my life." At length they all united in such a general acclamation of praise that the noise of their voices awoke me, when lo! I discovered that I was lying in my bed, and that all I saw and heard was nothing but a dream.

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[85] The meaning of this sentence probably is "Like gladiators [we are respected if honorably successful, but if] smeared with blood, or [exhibited by our vanquishers as] trophies [consisting] of [our] mangled characters, [we are] odious." The idea was not used in the lecture as finally written.

[86] Pegg Mullen's beef-steak house was on the east side of Water Street, at the corner of Wilcox's Alley (Watson, I, 464).

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[87] They were going to the theater; the men mentioned were stars of the American stage during the latter years of BR's life, George Frederick Cooke (DNB), Thomas A. Cooper and James Fennell (DAB, for both). Cooke and Cooper played together in Philadelphia in 1811, the year when the "Dream" was probably composed (Scharf-Westcott).

[88] Francis Shallus, engraver, had a circulating library at 89 South Front Street in 1811, at 49 South Third Street in 1813 (Philadelphia *Directories*).

[89] The novels of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay), 1752-1840, of which *Evelina* (1778) was the most successful, were frequently singled out by puritanical objectors to novel-reading, apparently because they were very popular; they were certainly innocuous by 20th century standards.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

RUSH'S Medical Theories

THE rival "systems" of medicine over which Benjamin Rush and his contemporaries contended so bitterly sprang up in the period of transition from mediaeval to modern physiology. Physicians of an earlier time, in the 15th and 16th centuries, still enjoyed the intellectual comfort of a well-established theory upon which to base their treatment of disease. The humoral physiology and pathology, set forth by Greek philosophers and systematized in the Middle Ages, had taught that the body functions through four kinds of fluids or humors, blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. Each humor was in turn supposed to be associated with two of the four fundamental qualities, namely, heat, cold, moisture and dryness. Blood, for example, is moist and hot, yellow bile is hot and dry. Bodily health results from the proper balance and counteraction of the four humors. Diseases are associated with excess or deficiency of one or another of them. Excess may be treated directly by bleeding, purging and sweating; deficiency may be treated by diet or drugs, for foodstuffs and medicines, like everything else, are made up of the same elements and partake of the same qualities as the tissues of the human body. It is readily possible therefore to augment a deficient quality by giving the proper food or drug. This system of medical thought was quite plausible in its day and (generally speaking) tended toward moderate treatment of disease by diet, drugs, rest, and physical therapy.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, however, the advance of physics and the beginnings of biochemistry made the humoral physiology obsolete without at first substituting an adequate body of new facts. Efforts were made to reestablish medical theory in terms of the new sciences. The iatrophysical or iatromathematical school, of which Descartes was a leader, sought to explain the body as a machine and disease as a disturbance of mechanical functions. The iatrochemical school, under such leaders as Van Helmont, tried to deal with physiology in terms of chemistry. When Benjamin Rush wrote his doctor's dissertation on digestion, for example, he had to deal on one hand with the iatrophysical theory that the food in the stomach was reduced to a state in which it can be assimilated, entirely by the mechanical action of the stomach, and on the other hand, with the iatrochemists' theory that some sort of chemical action was involved.

Such questions as these could of course be subjected to laboratory test, even if they could not be settled at once. Medicine was thus on its way toward acquiring an experimental outlook. Meanwhile, however, before the era of exact biochemistry, of quantitative physiology, and of bacteriology and descriptive pathology, there was not enough information at hand to give full insight into the problems of internal medicine. Premature efforts to reason out the nature of disease and to plan rational treatment led to the creation of one so-called "System of Medicine" after another. According to the knowledge then current, these systems were necessarily based on half-truths and unverifiable hypotheses. Edinburgh, the foremost medical center in the last forty years of the 18th century, was the source of most of this theorizing. Had leadership remained with the practical-minded Dutch physicians, instead of passing to the argumentative and metaphysical Scotch, the transition to modern medicine might have been smoother. For about half a century before the rise of the Edinburgh school, Leyden had been the headquarters of European medicine. Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1743) was its chief figure. He had watched the growth of physics and chemistry and with his contemporaries and pupils had built up, without any sharp break from the ancient traditions, a sort of eclectic system, in which chemical and physical qualities, such as acidity, alkalinity, saltness, tension, relaxation, etc., took the place of the old humoral qualities. Thus chemical and physical disturbances of organic function were accepted as causes of disease. Treatment was aimed at the symptoms, employing drugs and diet, generally in a mild and expectant way. When Benjamin Rush came home from Edinburgh in 1769, an enthusiastic follower of Cullen's new ideas, he found the old conservative doctors of Philadelphia still practising medicine after the fashion of Boerhaave.

The advent of the rival new systems was preceded by a wave of discovery, about the middle of the 18th century, concerning the physiology of nervous and muscular tissues. The chief impulse of this work came from Albrecht von Haller, who (with his pupils) conducted extensive experiments on nerves and muscles and replaced the previous vague ideas about irritability and nervous response with definite doctrines. His treatise *De partibus corporis humani sensibilibus et irritabilibus*, Göttingen, 1752, was translated into French and English (*On the Sensible and Irritable Parts of Animals*, reprinted with introduction by O. Temkin, Baltimore, 1936). The subject was again expounded by Haller in his *Elementa Physiologica*, which Benjamin Rush tells us (p. 94) he read in preparation for his lectures on physiology. Haller was not altogether correct, for when he associated irritability exclusively with muscular tissue and sensibility with nerves, his thought was too limited. Subsequent 18th century writers, using a somewhat altered definition of irritability, recognized it as a vital characteristic of the tissues in general. The attention of physicians was thus sharply directed to the irritability of living tissues, and to such phenomena as the stimulation of muscles through the nerves, and the nervous control of the blood vessels. It was evident that many of the interrelations between parts of the body, previously ascribed to the four humors, are in fact carried on by the nervous system. Such reactions must be very important in the maintenance of healthy function, and likewise disturbances of nerve control will produce illness.

All the new theories which concern us here stemmed from these ideas about stimulation and response, and all went astray by making nervous activity the chief or sole cause of disease. Looking back at them from the 20th century they all seem so much alike in their truths as well as in their errors, and they are couched in terms so foreign to our day, that it is difficult to perceive what the 18th century doctors were arguing about. To get the right perspective it is necessary to study the problem from the contemporary viewpoint. Fortunately for our purpose, one of Rush's students at the University of Pennsylvania, a young Marylander named John T. Rees, chose to write as his doctoral thesis of 1805, *Remarks on the Medical Theories of Brown, Cullen, Darwin and Rush.* To John Rees these were by no means merely academic notions; still less were they historical concepts. They were the principles upon which he was going to take the responsibility of life and death for his patients. His article of course had Rush's approval and it may be considered an authentic review of what Rush considered the issues to be.

Cullen started, as Rees tells us, by postulating that the nervous system is the source of life, and that disease is due to failure of its regulatory powers, leading either to exaggeration of nervous functions (spasm), or to weakness (atony). His reasoning may best be understood through his theory of fever, which indeed was the only part of his system which attracted wide attention in the profession. Cullen thought that in most acute febrile diseases the energy of the brain is diminished and this brings on general debility, setting up the "cold fit" or chill stage. Then the *vix medicatrix naturae* comes into action, inducing a spasm of the small arteries, especially on the surface of the body. This spasm acts as an irritant to the heart and arteries, setting up the "hot fit" or fever stage. Treatment must aim, according to the circumstances, to build up nervous energy by restorative drugs, drinks and diet, or to reduce it by bleeding, purging and low diet. The adage "stuff a cold and starve a fever" is strictly according to Cullen.

John Brown stated, somewhat more specifically than Cullen, that life is the product of stimuli acting upon the inherent excitability of the body. The stimuli may come from outside the body or from inside (emotions and passions). The excitability is a unit; that is to say, when a stimulus is applied to one part of the body, the excitability produces the same effect, more or less, in every part. The stimulus, acting upon the excitability, produces excitement. Both stimulus and excitement of course vary in different cases, but only in degree. When the exciting powers, the excitability, and the excitement are of medium intensity and properly balanced the body is in health. When the excitement is increased above or below normal the body is diseased. All diseases, therefore, are of two kinds, called *sthenic* when the excitement is increased, and *asthenic* when it is decreased. The excitability of the body can, however, be exhausted by overstimulation and then indirect debility results.

The cure of asthenic diseases can be effected by stimulative treatment, as by opium, musk, volatile spirits, brandy, and nourishing diet. Sthenic diseases are treated by the abstraction of stimuli, i.e. by blood-letting, purging, cool air, and low diet.

Coming now to Rush, Rees cites only his theory of fever but tells us that the system applies to all other forms of disease. Rush taught that all diseases are due to debility, which may be either direct, from insufficiency of stimulation, or indirect, from the after-effects of excessive stimulation. The latter state is obviously the same as Brown's indirect debility. Both of these states, if suddenly induced, are accompanied by an increase of excitability, but if chronic both are attended by reduction of excitability. Rush thought that the exciting causes of fever are certain irritants or stimulants which act upon the accumulating excitability and produce irregular or convulsive action of the blood vessels, not merely spasm as in Cullen's theory. Whereas Brown supposed that fever results directly from debility, Rush considered it a sign of morbid excitement "invited and fixed" by previous debility. This morbid excitement, he believed, consists of preternatural and convulsive action of the blood vessels.

It follows from Rush's theories that there is really only one kind of fever. Consequently there is only one kind of treatment, that is to say that which reduces the excitement of the blood vessels. Brown supposed that in fever the excitability and the resulting excitement are equal. Rush, on the contrary, supposed fevers to be the result of unequal excitability and excitement, i.e. of over-excitation, especially of the blood vessels. "Health consists in the equality and uniformity of them both, and the business of medicine is to equalize them in the cure of fever; that is, to abstract the excesses from the blood and restore them to other parts of the body." Hence the treatment of acute fevers calls for low diet, heavy purging with jalap and calomel, and bleeding to the limit of tolerance. These are the theories and this the practical application in which Rush took so much pride and for which he gained the enmity and scorn of many of his colleagues. The illogicality of treatment which inevitably produces general debility, to relieve excitement of blood vessels supposed to result in the first place from debility, seems never to have occurred to him.

Brown's *Elementa Medicinae* appeared in 1780. His system of medical thought became very popular not only in Scotland but in Europe, especially in Germany. When Rush lost his confidence in Cullen's theory of fever and began to formulate his own, he undoubtedly was influenced by Brown, adopting from him the idea and terminology of indirect debility. He considered however that his own views formed a system of medicine distinct from Brown's, whereas contemporary German and British medical writers, misled by the similarity of terminology, thought of him only as a follower of the Brunonian system and as the man who introduced it to America.

Very likely it was to combat such a notion that Rush in 1805 encouraged John Rees to write a dissertation comparing the current systems and demonstrating the independence of Rush's views from those of Brown. The error, however, persists to the present day, even in such careful books as Sudhoff's *Geschichte der Medizin.* It would be a satisfaction to Rush to know that at one of the meetings held to commemorate the 200th anniversary of his birth, Dr. Owsei Temkin of the Institute of Medical History, Johns Hopkins University, once more attempted to set the matter straight, pointing out that Rush had most decidedly developed the idea of indirect debility in his own special way. It is certain enough that in 1798 Dr. Kuhn, Dr. Currie, William Cobbett, and all the others who protested against the excessive purging and bleeding, thought that it was Rush's own system they were fighting.

SEE ALSO:
"Benjamin Rush's Theories on Blood letting after One Hundred and Fifty Years," by O. H. Perry Pepper, and "A Reappraisal of Dr. Benjamin Rush," by Richard H. Shryock, in: *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians* of Philadelphia, 4th series, vol. 14, 1946.

APPENDIX 2

Background of the Speculation of 1791-1792

BY "funding system" BR meant the proposals, which finally culminated in the Funding Act of 1790, that the U.S. government should consolidate the federal debt incurred during the Revolution and also the debts incurred by the States on behalf of the war effort, replacing all the outstanding obligations by government bonds.

Certificates: A large part of the federal debt, twenty million dollars or more, was represented by certificates, i.e. loan office certificates and various promissory documents issued by the quartermaster's department and the commissary in payment for supplies bought or seized during the war. Unlike the Continental paper currency, the certificates of indebtedness never completely depreciated. In Pennsylvania especially, where a large portion of such government paper was held, there was agitation as early as 1780 in favor of Congressional support of these credits. By legislation in 1785 and 1786 the Radical government of Pennsylvania assumed on loan all United States certificates held by citizens of Pennsylvania and undertook to pay the interest on them.

Needless to say, the maneuvers to maintain the value of the certificates provided a tempting opportunity for speculators, who bought up the paper from hard-pressed original holders and held it for a rise or against ultimate redemption. Speculation was intensified when Hamilton's plans for rehabilitating the federal finances came up for debate early in 1790. Various impracticable proposals were discussed for repaying at least part of the money to the original lenders, but in the end the Funding Act of 1790 provided for repayment, in new bonds, to the current holders of the certificates. It was openly charged (see p. 200) and has since been proved by Professor C. A. Beard, that the decisions of Congress were influenced by the fact that many representatives and some of the senators were speculative holders of certificates.

"*6 per cents, 3 per cents, deferred debt*": The Funding Act of 1790 provided for the issue of federal bonds in exchange for all the old domestic debt. Two thirds of the value of each exchange was made in bonds bearing six per cent interest, one third in bonds on which interest was deferred for ten years. The so-called indents and other evidences of accrued interest were funded by three per cent bonds. The Act also provided for assumption of the Revolutionary debt of the States and its replacement by federal bonds of which four-ninths bore six per cent interest from the date of issue, two-ninths bore six per cent after an interest-free period of ten years, and three-ninths bore three per cent interest from the date of issue.

Script was the name given to documents representing rights to purchase shares of the Bank of the United States. The act chartering the Bank, signed in February, 1791, provided for capitalization of $10,000,000, divided into 25,000 shares, each with a value of $400. Part of these were to be sold to the Government, and part to the public. They were to be paid for, by the public subscribers, in four semiannual installments. One fourth of each installment was to be paid in gold or silver, three fourths in U.S. bonds. The bank shares, which offered an attractive investment, were thus used as bait for the sale of government bonds. Prospective purchasers were required to pay the specie portion of the first installment as an initial deposit. A supplementary Act of Congress, dated March 2, 1791, provided that payment of the remainder, which was to be made in bonds, might be deferred until January, 1792. The right to purchase a share of bank stock could therefore be obtained by a cash payment of $25 only. The receipt for such down payment was the "script."

The public, in Europe as well as in America, was confident of the success of the bank. It was thought that the institution would earn eight to ten per cent on the invested capital. On this expectation the total cost of the stock could rise to a market value fifty per cent above par and it would still compete, as to yield, with other prime securities, e.g. the U.S. 6% bonds. According to notice given in May 1791, the subscription books were opened July 4. The entire capital was over-subscribed within two hours. The value of the script therefore promptly rose above the paid-in deposit, and the continuing demand for it rapidly inflated the price. In two days the scripts were bringing $35 and in a week the market price was $50. In early August, as narrated by BR, a flurry of speculation occurred. Competitive bidding among individuals and through the numerous brokers' offices that sprang up raised the price, according to BR, to as much as $320, almost thirteen times the paid-in value. This value was of course fictitious. Those who paid it were not making an investment, but gambling on the chance of reselling at a still higher price. When on August 12 the bubble burst, the price fell to 150. This price for the script meant a total cost of $525 for one share of par value $400, giving a yield, if the expected dividends of about 9% were paid, of almost 7%. At this level the price of script was not unreasonable, though still high, considering current interest rates and the novelty of the venture. The low level of $67 reached in New York about August 14, according to BR, must have been the bottom of a trough of depression. In November the price was 142 and in December 125.

"*Half shares*": After the second installment was paid, in January 1792, the paid-in value became $200, and the stock certificates each represented a half share. According to BR the stock had fallen to par early in 1792, but in April another boom ran the half shares to thirty-five per cent above par, i.e. $270 each, with $200 still due on the subscription.

The subsequent course of these securities does not concern us here, since BR does not mention the subject after 1792. It is however interesting to note that the Bank verified the predictions made in 1790 by paying dividends beginning in July 1792 at rates varying from 7⅝% to 10% annually until it was closed in 1811.

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APPENDIX 3

The Children of Benjamin and Julia Rush

Readers of *Travels Through Life* and the Commonplace Books will be curious to know what became of the children of the Rush household, mentioned from time to time in these pages by their affectionate though frequently harassed father. Two of them, Richard and James, were famous in their own right and their careers are matters of history. About the rest there are two chief sources of information. The first is *A Brief Account of the Ancestors and Descendants of Benjamin Rush*, compiled by his son-in-law Henry J. Williams in 1869 and appended to Biddle's edition of the autobiography. The second is a collection of papers on the genealogy of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, made by Frank Willing Leach of Philadelphia and New Jersey. The Leach collection now belongs to the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, to which it was presented by the late Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, who admirably arranged and indexed it. These records bring the family history down to the 20th century. In the following paragraphs only the first generation of BR's offspring will be considered.

1. John Rush, 1777-1837. The main fact of John Rush's personal history, that he was insane for many years, was never concealed, and indeed has been publicly printed (e.g. in Morton's History of the Pennsylvania Hospital), but grief and family pride prevented the narration of details. There is no longer any reason for withholding a story that explains a number of otherwise obscure passages in the mss. and can only win sympathy for the young man's parents and increase our admiration for the father who rose above his personal sorrow to devote himself to the study of insanity.

John Rush was born while his young mother was a refugee from her home during the British advance in New Jersey, 1777. He attended Princeton University, but did not take a degree, and in September, 1794, was enrolled as a medical apprentice to his father.

During the period of BR's quarrels over yellow fever in 1797, the United States Gazette published (October 6) an article against him, which he supposed to have been written by Dr. Andrew Ross. John Rush impetuously took up his father's quarrel in a letter to Ross, who retaliated by calling him "an impudent puppy," whereupon John Rush caned Ross. The latter challenged BR to a duel, which he declined, not (as he said) because he feared death, but because he did not wish to answer to his Maker for causing another man to be a murderer.

John Rush was appointed surgeon in the United States Navy May 11, 1798 and lieutenant March 5, 1799. He served in USS *Ganges* and *Adams* during the quasi-war with France. He resigned January 29, 1802, and returned home evidently under some sort of emotional reaction against navy life, as indicated by BR's entry of December 11, 1802 (p. 261).

The young man took his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1804. In view of the tragedy that precipitated his breakdown, it is a strange fact that his graduating thesis was "*An Inaugural Essay on the Causes of Sudden Death and the Means of Preventing It* (Philadelphia, 1804). The pamphlet is movingly dedicated to BR by his son. In the same year John Rush printed a very bold paper which he had read before the Philadelphia Medical Society, entitled *Elements of Life, or the Laws of Vital Matter.* In this essay the young man insisted upon the materiality of nature, of the "first cause," of the human mind, and of life in general. He based part of his argument upon his father's theory that insanity has a material basis, depending upon malfunction of the cerebral blood vessels; but the materialistic implications of the paper went far beyond anything Benjamin Rush would knowingly have supported.

At the time of his graduation, John Rush was elected a member of the staff of the Philadelphia General Hospital, but for some reason declined to serve. On October 16, 1804, he set off for South Carolina with Major Butler, as his father records. No doubt his mental instability was responsible for the repeated change of plans. In September 1805 he reentered the navy as a sailing master. He was in command of a gunboat at Boston 1805-1806 and of various gunboats at New Orleans in 1807-1808.

On October 1, 1807 he fought a duel with Lieutenant Benjamin Taylor, commanding officer of Gunboat No. 15, New Orleans Station, in which Taylor was killed. BR tells us that the dead officer had been John's close friend. About a year later, September, 1808, John Rush was relieved of duty in consequence of mental derangement. In February 1810 he was returned to his home "in a state of deep melancholy brought on by killing a brother officer . . . in a duel" and was placed in the Pennsylvania Hospital. There is a record of one brief remission, but thereafter he seems to have been continuously deranged until his death.

John Rush's naval record is found in *Register of Officer Personnel, U.S. Navy and Marine Corps, and Ships' Data, 1801-1807*, office of Naval Research and Library, Washington, 1945; also the following collections in the Navy records at the U.S. National Archives: OSW-7; Captains' Letters, 1805, vol. 3; Officers' Letters, 1806, vol. 3; Officers' Letters, 1807, vol. 3. For the duel, letter from Lt. James T. Leonard to Hon. Robt. Smith, Secretary of the Navy, Oct. 1, 1807, in Officers' Letters, Aug.-Dec. 1807, vol. 3. For these citations the editor is indebted to the staff of the Office of Navy Records, U.S. National Archives.

2. ANNE EMILY RUSH, 1779-1850, married on March 12, 1799, Ross Cuthbert, son of James and Catharine Cuthbert, who was born at Berthier, Quebec in 1776. A graduate of Princeton, he was a member of the Quebec parliament 1801-1810, 1815-1816, 1820.

3. RICHARD RUSH, 1780-1859, was attorney-general of Pennsylvania and comptroller of the U.S. Treasury, 1811; attorney-general of the U.S., 1814-1817; acting Secretary of State, 1817; minister to Great Britain, 1817-1825; Secretary of the Treasury, 1825-1829; minister to France, 1847-1851. As minister to Great Britain he did much to restore good feeling between the two countries after the Revolution and the War of 1812 (DAB; John H. Powell, *Richard Rush, Republican Diplomat, 1780-1859*, Philadelphia, 1942).

4. SUSANNA RUSH, 1782, lived 4½ months.

5. ELIZABETH GRAEME RUSH, 1783, lived 4½ months.

6. MARY RUSH, 1784-1849, married on December 29, 1804, Captain Thomas Manners of the British army, said to have been a grandson of John Manners, Marquis of Granby, 1721-1770. She accompanied her husband to Canada and to England, where she resided the rest of her life.

7. JAMES RUSH, 1786-1869, was graduated at Princeton. He was enrolled as medical apprentice to his father in 1805, studied at Edinburgh, and took his M.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in 1809. After practising for a few years he retired to follow his literary and scientific interests. His chief work was a book on the physiology of the voice, highly considered in its time. His wife was Phoebe Ann Ridgway, whose large inherited wealth became his after her death, and was left by him to found the Ridgway Library, now a branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia (DAB).

8. William Rush, 1787, lived 2 months.

9. Benjamin Rush, 1789, lived 3 weeks.

10. Benjamin Rush, 1791-1824, died unmarried at New Orleans, where he was engaged in the East India trade.

11. Julia Rush, 1792-1860, married on June 17, 1820, Henry Jonathan Williams, 1791-1879, an attorney of Philadelphia, son of General Jonathan Williams.

12. Samuel Rush, 1795-1859, was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1812 and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1817. He was clerk of the Common Council of Philadelphia, 1819-1820. From 1826 for several years he was deputy attorney-general of Philadelphia County and from 1836 to 1841 recorder of the city of Philadelphia.

13. William Rush, 1801-1864, was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1819 and took his M.D. there in 1823. From 1834 to 1837 he was a member of the medical staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

APPENDIX 4

The Litigation over William Bradford's Estate

Although, as will appear below, the exact nature of the trial mentioned in the entries of March 10-12, 1808 has not been ascertained, it was evidently an episode in a long and bitter controversy between BR and Elias Boudinot that has been completely suppressed by their biographers. This quarrel embittered the latter years of both these distinguished men, alienated their families from each other and interfered with the affairs of the U.S. Mint during the whole time BR was treasurer under Boudinot. The long tangled story is worth sketching here, not only to explain the two brief entries, one of them fragmentary, in the commonplace book, but also to throw light on passages in BR's correspondence and in contemporary records that cannot be understood without knowledge of this affair.

As BR recorded, his friend William Bradford, attorney general of the United States, died on August 23, 1795, of a malignant fever. Bradford had made a will in 1788, and in 1793 he drew another, which was signed and sealed, but not declared in the presence of witnesses. Five days after his last illness began he thought of making a new will but because he was too weak to attend to the matter he first asked his nephew to draw a will and then decided to republish the 1793 will and to add a codicil to it. The codicil was drawn, signed and witnessed, but on the afternoon of the same day Bradford became delirious, tore the will and the codicil to bits and asked his sister Rachel to burn the fragments. About six o'clock in the evening of the same day the patient became more composed and, as BR testified in one of the lawsuits that followed, he appeared sane. He declared his intention of dying intestate and at this time signed three promissory notes, one for £5000 to his two sisters, one to a Miss Reed for £1000 and another for $1000 to BR, directing the latter as stated in the commonplace book entry of August 23, 1795, to use the income for charitable purposes and at his own death to leave the money to charity or to his (BR's) children. Rush thus became involved in the affair not only as a participant in the events of Bradford's last days but also as a financially interested party on behalf at least of his charities and of his own heirs.

After William Bradford's death, his father-in-law Elias Boudinot came forward as executor under the will of 1788, which he offered for probate. Thomas Bradford (1745-1838; DAB), the decedent's brother, was the leader of those who would benefit if William had died intestate. He obtained a caveat and the register of wills directed that a test case should be brought to determine whether the will of 1788 or the deathbed action should prevail. The issue was extremely complicated because there was dispute not only as to whether the will of 1793 was valid and had therefore superseded that of 1788 but also as to whether William Bradford was in his right mind when he destroyed the 1793 will and again when he signed the notes and declared that he chose to die intestate. BR's testimony as physician in the case was all-important on the question of sanity. The test case of Boudinot vs. T. Bradford was tried in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in the January term of 1797. The jury decided for the defendant, implying that the will of 1793 was valid and revoked that of 1788, and that the decedent's acts were those of a sane man. For some time after William Bradford's death, Boudinot acted as executor. In 1798 he paid the promissory notes, but he continued to be critical of BR for testifying in his own interest that Bradford was sane. In October 1802 BR wrote as follows to Joseph Richardson, an officer of the Mint, who was trying to make peace between Boudinot and Rush because he had to work with both of them (*29 Rush mss.*):

"Mr. Boudinot has accused me unjustly and cruelly of having taken a false affirmation in Court in order to deprive his daughter of a part of her husband's estate. By the remoteness of the time (nearly five years) and the *manner* in which he put his accusation in my hands he has violated the obligations of consanguinity, friendship, humanity and Religion. Relying upon the influence in Society, which he derives from his Wealth, Office and uncommon professions of piety, to establish his evidence he has refused to hear from me a refutation of his charges and a defence of my innocence. This conduct at first surprised and distressed me, for I had been in the habit of believing him to be a religious and honest man and a most sincere friend for upwards of five and twenty years, but the knowledge I have lately obtained of his character from a number of other transactions with other people (some of which will ere long be made public) has changed my surprise and distress to pity. I no longer wonder at his attack upon my veracity, for his avarice I have discovered knows no restraints from the laws of God or man. - - - You will readily perceive your good offices cannot be effectually employed. Having the means of doing myself justice, and partly from Mr. Boudinot's own hand, I cannot consent to any intercourse with him until he retracts the falsehoods he has propagated against me."

Although the Bradford will case in its various ramifications was in courts of record at least three times and is represented by numerous entries in the books of the Register of Wills and Orphans Court of Philadelphia County, no record has been found of the trial of 1808. We know of it only from the entries in the commonplace book and from two letters which BR wrote, one to Horace Stockton (*29 Rush mss., 33*; undated) and one to another correspondent, April 5, 1808, to be printed by L. H. Butterfield in his forthcoming volume of Rush's letters. For what purpose and between whom the suit occurred is not clear. The records of the Orphans Court do not mention it as far as can now be ascertained. The office of the Prothonotary of the Courts of Common Pleas has been unable to find any reference to proceedings on March 10 and 12, 1808 pertaining to the will of William Bradford. It is known, however, that at some time after the trial of 1797, Thomas Bradford was appointed administrator *pendente lite* and took charge of the estate. We may conjecture that Boudinot was trying in some way to reassert the validity of the 1788 will.

In the letter to Stockton BR gave the whole story which has been partly lost from the commonplace book by the tearing of the page. The letter begins with a reference to a conversation between BR and Stockton during which BR had made the remark that "Your Uncle Boudinot has lost his moral and religious character in Philadelphia."

"I shall pass over his absurd, ridiculous and contradictory charges of falsehood and insanity against me. The verdict of the jury that overset the supposed will of Mr. Bradford and established my testimony in favor of his dying intestate fully refuted them. I shall pass over in silence likewise his controversies with his tradesmen and tenants and his donations of worthless lands to pious and charitable uses . . . and mention only certain facts of part of which I was a witness at the late trial and which are not only generally known but spoken of with pity or horror by all classes of people.

A few days after Mr. Bradford's death his brother obtained a copy of the inventory of his property. In this inventory there was an amount of 6 Bank Shares of the U.S. held in the name of E[lias] B[oudinot], 18 in the name of J[ared] I[ngersoll] and 19 in the name of Wm. Bradford. The entry which should have been filed by Mr. B in the Register's Office within one month after Mr. B[radford]'s death was kept back nearly 3 years or until the spring after the first tryal which gave T[homas] B[radford] a share of his brother's estate. It was then [returned?] by Mr. B[oudinot] *upon oath* but without the 24 shares held by Mr. B[oudinot] and Mr. I[ngersoll]. A record of Mr. B[radford]'s property was made some years afterwards and *upon oath* in which no mention was made of the above 24 shares. The history of this business was [revealed?] in confidence by Mr. B[oudinot] to his lawyers. During the tryal they asked him whether Mr. B[radford] had not more than 19 shares in the Bank of the U.S. He said he believed he had but that he had sold them before he died. He was asked to whom. He said he did not know. Confusion and guilt at this time appeared in his countenance. The next morning he came into Court and said he had recollected that he had 6 shares of Bank Notes which he did not return into the Register's Office inasmuch as he held them as a security for some ground rents Mr. B[radford] collected for him. No one believed this possible between such friends. He was then asked whether there were not 18 shares held in the name of Mr. I[ngersoll] belonging to Mr. B[radford]'s estate. Then he faltered and looked as if a thunderbolt had bursted over him. Mr. Ingersoll was called to account for them. "I accounted to Mr. B[oudinot] for them long ago," he said. "Yes, yes, said Mr. B[oudinot], he did, and I returned them with some debts,"—upon calculating the amount of these debts, the Bank Shares including their interest exceeding the amount of these debts by several thousand dollars. But this was not the only evidence of delinquency in Mr. B[oudinot] as an executor. Those 18 shares were afterwards lent to Mr. Ingersoll in the name of Wm. Bradford. By this means every word of their being Wm. Bradford's property or any part of his estate was destroyed. Nor would the existence of the 24 bank shares ever have been known, had not an accident furnished a copy of the inventory which contained them a few days after his [Wm. Bradford's] death."

These excerpts are sufficient to show how desperately BR had been angered by Boudinot's aspersions. What Boudinot felt about the affair has not come down to us in such detail. He is said to have remarked that the madman Rush would work his own destruction. The case was still in litigation as late as 1811, and has often been cited as authority on various points of law. In retrospect it is difficult to imagine how so great a lawyer as William Bradford could have left his own testamentary affairs so confused that they were in the courts sixteen years after his death, or how a great physician and student of human nature such as Benjamin Rush could have let the bequest of a friend imperil his honor and ruin his peace of mind.

The legal decisions in courts of record are summarized in *Pennsylvania Reports*, *2 Yeates*, *170* (the test case of 1797); *ibid.*, *4 Yeates*, *175* (a technical issue of legal procedure in 1805); *3 Federal Cases*, 1128, case no. 1765 (a suit over the executor's accounts in 1811).

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